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ART. I.—IDEAL COMMONWEALTHS.

1. *The Republic* of PLATO.
2. *The Utopia* of SIR THOMAS MORE.
3. *The Oceana* of JAMES HARRINGTON.

POLITICS is a serious study,—serious as our lives and liberties. He who invests it with the charm of fiction awakens our suspicion, and weakens his power to convince. But, strange as it may seem, some of the best thinkers that the world has seen, have encircled political abstractions with the zone of beauty, and clothed sober experience with the many colored rings of romance. Every age has been enriched by some figment of a Commonwealth. Far back in the depths of antiquity, the poets feigned a happy land, where, amid perfumed airs, leafy groves, silver streams and perennial pleasures, men communed with the gods, inhaled the breath of the blessed, and grew into the image of goodness, and into likeness, love and harmony with the beauty of truth. Greece was the favored retreat of these dreamers. The delightful land of the South filled the Greek with lovely conceptions. The superstition of fear brooded over the dark forests of the North. The rapture of hope lit up the eyes of the Grecian, and he saw in the trembling of the orange-tree and in the glory of its bloom, an airy embodiment of beauty; and in the spray of the cascade, and the prism which spanned it, a living presence of grace. Not only did a divine harmony pervade their unrivalled

dramas, arousing the hidden soul of the hearer and beholder; not only did it give precision in delineation, which vanished imperceptibly into proportion, flinging a radiance around the rival easels of a Protogenes and an Appelles; not only did it shed a fascination over the marble forms of the Parthenon, giving them an ease and vitality which seemed the offspring of spontaneous inspiration; not only did it pervade the philosophy and sway in its fiercest tumults the democracy which met around the agora, and the mob which collected in the Piræus, thus controlling the policy of the nation; but it arose above them all, and, as on a ray of transparent light, sought the far off Atlantis in the West, and there planted its colony of hopes and dreams.

Long before Socrates taught, an architect of Miletus, disdaining the precision of square and compass, left his employment of building temples and laying out streets, passed the pillars of Hercules, beyond which the ships of his native place had never ventured, and drifted in a fairy-shell boat of fancy across the Western main to the realms of the blessed. There he constructed his Commonwealth. The severe critic, Aristotle, to whom we are indebted for an account of this enterprise, passes his strictures on its mechanism; and the fine workmanship of the artisan almost vanishes before the touch of the "Seraphic Doctor,"—the enchanter of Stagira. The architect, with more earnestness and less irony than a modern satirist,* seems profoundly enamored of the number *three*. His Commonwealth is divided into three classes: artificers, husbandmen and soldiers. His territory is divided into three portions: sacred, common and private. There are three fountains in the mind, whence springs three kinds of injuries, to be remedied by three kinds of punishment—insults, damages and death. In order to bring the whole government within the compass of his mystic number, he ordained three functions for the rulers—the concerns of the state, the affairs of strangers, and the management of orphans.

It is unnecessary to comment on this model of a republic. It is important only as a forerunner of Plato's, and as an illus-

* *Vide* Dean Swift's *Tale of a Tub*.

tration of the tendency of Hellenic genius. But a more extraordinary piece of fanciful mechanism was the Commonwealth of Theopompos of Chios. It rivals an eastern tale in extravagance. It is prolific of giants; and magical illusions pass through it in mazy confusion. It may, however, be allegorical. It has its place of war, its peaceful city, its rivers of pleasure, its tear-compelling fruits and renovating Medean magic. It is wanting in that easy transition and naturalness of narrative which graces the ideals we shall presently notice. There is wanting in this, as well as in the Panchaia of Euhemeros, that attention to great principles which alone can give to political fiction its charm for the philosopher and its dignity for the statesman. Still, in these we may see the germinal inclination of the Grecian mind, which afterwards bloomed and bore fruit in the splendid conceptions of Plato. His "Republic" overshadows all the other ideals of his countrymen. It stood alone and incomparable. Plato holds the balance of power in the visionary universes, nay, he is paramount. His was the model which Campanella copied in his *City of the Sun*; the antitype of the fragment which Bacon has left us in his *New Atlantic*, a work which gives little satisfaction to the reader of his *Advancement of Learning*, and which is unworthy of the genius which planned the *Novum Organum*; it doubtless led Sir Thomas More abroad in search of his "Utopia," and animated his namesake Dr. More, the most enthusiastic of modern Platonists, while he constructed his *Theory of the Ideal World*; it furnishes a pattern for Berkeley, to whom is attributed the singular *Adventures of Signor Gaudenzio di Lucca*; and finally it supplied an example for Harrington, when, under the cover of fiction, he set forth his ideas of a Commonwealth for his own isle—the "Oceana" of the Northern seas, a work which called forth the *Holy Commonwealth* of Baxter, and the *Idea* of Hume. Plato—the divine Plato—not only leads the choir of classic antiquity, in composing and hymning the harmony of divine philosophy, but in striking that sublime strain in which all may join who aspire after a happier and holier existence upon earth.

We can scarcely in the brief space of a single article, give more than a glance at the general features of these several works. We select *three*, imitating the old architect, of the more prominent and familiar, to illustrate the uses and abuses of this creative faculty.

The *Republic* of Plato is the synonym for every beautiful vision, and the *Utopia* of More is the epithet of every wild chimera that can visit the mind. The latter has become an English word, expressing impracticability, but its philological sense is a little ambiguous. Some supposed that More wished to throw a delightful uncertainty around the geographical position of his *Republic*; that, therefore, he uses the word as derived from the Greek negative *οὐ* and *τόπος*, a place, no place; others derive the word from *εὖ*, and *τόπος*, the happy place; but this is not essential, for to most of us the supremely happy *somewhere* is *nowhere*, at least, upon this earth. The *Oceana* is not so well known as the other works, because, perhaps, it is less romantic; yet Hume, in reviving speculation upon this subject, in his succinct, quiet, cold, characteristic *Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth*, gives the meed to Harrington's work as the only valuable model that has yet been offered. From David Hume we would have been surprised at any other decision; we would as soon have expected that his eye of skepticism should look upon human nature with the warm and confiding enthusiasm of Plato, as with the quiet humor and hearty satisfaction of Sir Thomas More. When we read his own *Idea*, how nude, shivering, narrowless, skeleton-like it appears! No warmth, no ornament, no elasticity, no animation; it seems the offering of despair, the image of death beside Plato's bounding hopefulness, and More's genial picturesqueness. The *Oceana* is more matter-of-fact, and its aim is more direct. It was called into being under circumstances very different from those which gave birth to the *Republic* and *Utopia*. They are all, however, in one point of view, eminently practical. They should not be condemned as the splendors of dreamers; they should be tested by the characters of their authors, by the circumstances under which they were written, by the spirit in which they were undertaken,

and by the effects which they produce on the mind. These are the tests which we will proceed to apply.

Plato, Harrington and More had all been travellers and observers. According to the most popular accounts, Plato, after the death of Socrates, visited Italy, where he completed his acquaintance with the Pythagorean philosophy. He passed several years in Egypt, where he studied with the priests. He went thence to Phoenicia, where he became acquainted with the religion of the Jews; thence to Babylon, where he learned astronomy and the doctrines of Zoroaster. His adventures in Sicily, and with the tyrant, were really quite romantic. Having been too bold in teaching Dionysius the duties of a ruler, he was compelled to fly—was sold as a slave, redeemed and returned to Athens where he established his Academy. He had ample opportunities to collect practical and experimental knowledge, even if the turbulence of his native Athens had failed to arouse him from his reveries to a closer observation of men and manners. Plato was decidedly practical, although we are apt to deem him the reverse because his theories are so incomparably sublime, forgetting that there is no incompatibility between theory and experience.

More was a foreign ambassador, as well as the ablest lawyer of his time; and even then it was not considered a professional failing to be worldly wise. At the early age of fifteen, while yet a page in the house of Cardinal Morton, he was noted for the fertility of his invention. We can see the creator of *Utopia* in the young, laughing rogue, that would suddenly step up among the players who amused the old age of the Cardinal, and "never studying beforehand his part, make it up of his own invention, which was so witty and full of jests that he alone made more sport than all the players besides; for which, his towardliness, the old Cardinal was much delighted in him, and would often say of him, 'This child, whoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous rare man.'" The prophecy was fulfilled to the letter. His judgments on the "woolsack" were distinguished as much by their rare wisdom, as by their dispatch; for at one time during his Chancellorship, a remarkable fact occurred—an era happened

in English equity, the chancery docket was disposed of—not a case remaining undecided. Sir Thomas had it entered on the record, and well he might. The prophecy was fulfilled:

When More sometime had Chancellor been
 No *more* suits did remain;
 The same shall never *more* be seen,
 Till More be there again.

Neither was Harrington wholly a dreamer. He lived in an era when men had not time to dream, or to hear dreams. Cromwell would not have seized his MSS. had they been subtle cobwebs spun, as Milton supposed Plato's were, after a debauch. Harrington's mind received its direction from the acute Chillingworth; and even before he attained his majority he visited the continent. He was heard to say that before he left England, he knew no more about monarchy, anarchy, aristocracy and the like, than as so many hard words, the signification of which he had learned in the dictionary. He visited Holland just after she had gallantly thrown off the Spanish yoke. He went to Italy and there studied the ethics of the political masters, and he was particularly enamored of the civil polity of Venice. On his return he was appointed to an office about the king, who became very fond of him, listened to his arguments for a Commonwealth, and treated him with apparent affection. Harrington adhered to him with singular consistency; was with him even on the scaffold; and on his death retired to his study to meditate on the condition of his country, and to build that system which he has given us in the *Oceana*. His after career is known—the effect of his writing on Cromwell, whose power was not to be endangered by the “paper shots,” as he called them, of Harrington—his imprisonment by the restored Stuart—and his unwavering adherence to the Commonwealth, through every political vicissitude, awaken our sympathy and admiration, and prove to us that although the *Oceana* was dressed in fiction, it was founded on fact.

It is not a little singular that the most efficient politico-ethical writers have written under adverse circumstances; nay, under circumstances which are in glaring contrast with the

principles they advocated. But these very circumstances may have given the motive and their amelioration may have been the aim. The prudential politics of Aristotle were composed in the time of Alexander. Livy wrote in favor of a Commonwealth in the reign of Augustus; but the golden chains of the court did not trammel his discursive pen. Machiavelli wrote his *Prince* when Italy had no prince whose ear was open to anything but the soft accents of the courtier, and the tuneful measure of classic elegance. When the *Republic* of Plato was written the Athenian demos were yet dazzled by the metaphysics of the sophists. Virtue and vice were regarded as mere illusions of the mind. The eternal distinctions between truth and falsehood were well-nigh obliterated. But the instructions of Socrates had evidently been the means of forming a large party in Athens, favorable to progress and to the metamorphosis of its civil and religious institutions. Their master had been judicially murdered, and their plans frustrated. So, after the subsidence of popular feeling, those who had absented themselves returned, and by way of avenging the resistance before offered to their projects, exalted the name of their leader, and prepared and embellished their schemes of reform. Such, probably, were the circumstances under which Plato wrote the *Republic*. It must have been published about the close of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, since the "*Εκκλησιάζουσαι*" of Aristophanes, performed in the ninety-seventh, evidently glances at it and holds its eccentricities up to public laughter. But the Grecian people had degenerated; Athens, the "eye of Greece," had been dimmed by passions and lawlessness. Although she could still appreciate the music of her tongue, as it rose from the grove of the Academy like an anthem, her integrity had been broken, and every Cleon and Alcibiades whose genius surmounted the level of the mass swayed her at will. Plato retired into his leafy retreat, where he could enjoy the spiritual inheritance left to him by Socrates; recall those pure ideas of justice which had fallen from his master's lips; lay them as the foundation of individual happiness and social harmony; purify and illumine them with that fire, which, Prometheus like, he stole from

heaven; blend with them his own ideas of truth and unity; embody them in the glowing splendor of his divine diction, and give them a local habitation far from the sound of the demagogue's voice and the people's hurrah—far beyond the setting sun—in our own western world, where, even then, they may have been realized in Aztec and Peru.

In the time of More, Christendom was made the spell of the Popish enchanter; but the charm was beginning to break. The refined casuistry of the Church had paved the path to heaven with pearls and gold. Immunity for future vice had been given under the smile of the Virgin; sensuality had been concealed beneath the cowl; ambition beneath the surplice. Venus had worn the veil of the nun, and Bacchus the hood of the friar, and all had sung hymns with pealing organs in dim cathedrals, to Him that taketh away the sins of the world! This was the age of Christian sophistry. It differed from heathen sophistry, as the calm quaffing of the hemlock differed from the infernal enginery of the Inquisition. There was then, as now, the difference which d'Aubigné points out between catholicism and popery. More and his friend Erasmus were pious catholics. No shade of suspicion ever darkened their motives. Whatever we may think of Sir Thomas' alleged intolerance, and there are conclusive evidences to be urged in its defence,* (notwithstanding a late English reviewer,) his religious opinions in the early part of his life were latitudinarian. The Reformation and its excesses alarmed and shocked his mild nature, and he afterwards became convinced of the present expediency of uniformity of faith. "It is," says Erasmus, "a sufficient proof of his clemency, that while he was Chancellor, no man was put to death for these pestilent dogmas, while so many at the same period suffered for them in France, Germany and the Netherlands;" and Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*, remarks that it was not until More retired from office, and was succeeded by the pliant and inhuman Audley, that heresy was made high treason, and the scaffold flowed with heretical blood. We mention these authorities, not so much to defend Sir Thomas, as to account for

* Vide Professor Smythe's *Lecture on History*.

what may seem an incongruity between his widely-tolerant religious opinions, and his subsequent official conduct. He was ever of a modest and retiring disposition. He was compelled to take the great seal. Long before he became Chancellor, he would leave his briefs and devotions, and retire into the cloister of contemplation, and while lashing with quiet, good-humored satire, veiled under an occasional absurdity, the chicanery of the court and the corruptions of the Church, would plead for a reform in the State, founded on individual right and toleration in religion wide as even our Roger Williams could have wished. He clothed his conceptions in a felicitous latinity, imbued them with the dignity of philosophical discrimination, mellowed them with the golden light of Hesperian romance, and enriched them with all the novelties of the opening world of El Dorados.

The long vexed question of royal prerogative and popular privilege had been decided. The "right Divine to govern wrong" had been contemptuously set aside by Puritan England. The sacred right of popular resistance had been established; but power yet remained in the hands of some not loathing its exercise. The royal victim must be immolated; and by way of superfluity Charles Stuart laid his head upon the block. This having been done, James Harrington, heart-sick and pensive, retired from the stained platform into his study to meditate. England had suffered long from the haughty house of Stuart. Old England had suffered, even during the plausible reign of good Queen Bess, who was always chary of her prerogative. What availed the baronial charter of Runnymede? Thirty times had it been renewed by Parliament. The theory of privilege had been repealed by successive Parliaments; but its observance in practice—what was it, but a mockery and an insult to the Saxon spirit? Thus felt Harrington as he sat down to the history of English wrongs and English rights. In the first he saw real red grievances crimsoning the page; the second, he read in parchment, which sounded prettily enough in the ear, but hollow enough on the heart. What other interest can there be in this realm, that the people should be thus outraged for centuries! Royalty

must be abolished ; a Commonwealth must be established with such a libration in its frame that no man, not even Oliver himself, shall have the interest, or, having the interest, the power to disturb it. Happy idea ! Noble theme for contemplation ! How shall it be framed, so that without contradiction to itself, to reason, to experience, it will regulate itself without resistance in perpetuity ? Such, probably, were the conceptions which met Harrington, *in limine*, when he began his model. He searched history, called into existence orators of the brain, who declaimed about his imaginary laws, gave them the authority of the old sages and the eloquence of his own heart, imbued their lips with the "honey of persuasion," tried their sentiments in the fires of experience, and moulded them in the symmetry of system ; and thus sprang, like a Venus from the wave, a land of happiness and harmony from the bosom of the northern seas.

We have now before us the three happy Republics. It may not be uninteresting to examine the principles on which they were founded, and the spirit which pervaded them. Pure as they appear when contrasted with the eras in which they were written ; splendid and unattainable as seems their object, they are not the *impossibilities* which they are generally supposed. Difficulties, the most formidable, are not impossible, *χαλεπὰ μὲν δυνατόν δέ τι*. Of their practicability we shall hereafter speak ; we refer now to their existence in Reason. Give Archimedes an object, and he will affect it by his instruments ; give philosophy and ethics certain premises, and they will transform its morals and condition. Let us see what we can give our theorists.

With Plato, education is the Archimedian power. Whether he does not expect more from it than he reasonably should, is questionable ; but that it is a tremendous regenerating agency this age and country illustrate ; and if civil polity is ever to arise in the majesty of perfection, we know of no other or fitter influence by which it will be accomplished. Plato believed that men were something else beside gross matter ; that they were not dumb stocks and stone ; but spirits with capacities to be filled, and inclinations to be bent. He felt

that life was something more than the quick red blood ;
time, something else than heart throbs,—that

“ He most lives

Who thinks most—feels the noblest—acts the best.”

The intellectual and ethical development by which Plato would influence the individual renders it impossible that he should be content to dwell in any other than the very society that exists in the Republic. This development depends upon an acute insight into the human soul, whose discordant elements are harmonized and made the spring of every grace and beauty ; that dwelling, as in a sanctuary of health, the young should imbibe good from all around them, whence aught may strike their sense, like airs that are wafting health from purest climes.

Sir Thomas, with little of Plato's philosophical acumen with which to apprehend and classify the fitting phenomena of mind, without his daring in the enunciation of principles that boldly traverse the path of prejudice, measured man more by his external manifestations and his actual history ; selected from each state some well-tried measure and wise maxim ; extracted the spirit of his ethics from Christianity ; bound them all together by a common brotherhood, and thus formed a system in each particular perhaps practicable, which, as a whole, never existed, but which might exist in that advanced state of mankind which Plato's influence upon the plastic soul would produce. He locates his Utopia upon an island of the western main, and in its arrangement endeavors to reduce everything, save religion, to a uniform standard. His fifty-four cities are laid out with a provision which extends to every street and every house. A certain number constitute a family ; a certain number of families select a magistrate ; each member lives a certain time in the country and a certain time in the city ; wears a common costume and eats at a common table. By a wholesome discipline, similar to that of the Peloponnesian Republic, he is trained in the same habits of obedience and industry—in the same processes of agriculture and commerce, and by arrangements which bear

a wonderful resemblance to the "series and groups" of Fourier, all his industrial energies are happily developed, all his relations to society are forwarded by a unity which supposes a very great change in the manners of mankind.

Plato, by a divine intuition, penetrates into the nature of the human soul and draws thence the causes which are to produce social harmony. More, by his ingenious talent, discerns the best recorded thought and experience, and by a collation of effects establishes results of admiral uniformity. Plato allures to virtue by showing its beauty; More would guide us in its pleasant path by a happy restraint; Plato would prevent rather than punish; More would mould character rather than crush it by penalties. He would build no throne in Utopia lest ambition should aspire; use no ornaments lest men should become vain and effeminate; nor present any attractions lest they be dazzled. Plato builds thrones, surrounds them with embroidered canopies and splendid decorations, and places upon each a republican, that all may rule in their own spheres with a royal equality. Plato is superior to Sir Thomas as the orator is superior to the mere rhetorician; as Cicero is superior to Quintilian; as the poet is superior to the artistic translator; as Spencer surpasses Pope. Plato is an ingenious inventor, while More is a talented constructor. The harmony of the latter is that of the silver-sounding instrument played by a cunning hand; the harmony of the former is that of an Eastern fountain gracefully leaping upward, then dancing over pearls and precious stones to its own ravishing melody. Picture before you his community of men, endowed with the gifts of wisdom; excommunicating all those who are incorrigible in disposition from long perversion; trying and refining by their pure ordeal the rising race; frowning upon the fancied superiority of wealth and the foppery of fashion, with no caste but that of virtue, no nobility but that of manhood; permitting this one to turn the turf under the clear sky with the shining plough-share; that one to chisel the column for the towering temple; and those to whom it is congenial to become the servants, workmen and traders of society, and thus each one to realize his own idea of life in his own way with the

same rapture as the philosopher in his study and the painter in his studio; the courageous defend from aggression by the same law which makes the intellectual the legislators of the Commonwealth; and to this latter, the highest eminence where none are low—there is ever a path open by which goodness and wisdom may reach their proper spheres. Under such genial influences each individual is led, step by step, to act well his part; and, although like the allegorical knights of the *Faërie Queen*, not perfect in all the cardinal virtues, yet all when combined in the State, as were the twelve virtues in Prince Arthur, produce a perfect archetype of human magnanimity.

As the *Oceana* is less poetical, it is consequently less attractive; but as a useful model, it is perhaps preferable. Its structure is mechanical. It seems supported by underpinning and buttresses, and regulated by weights and ingenious compensations. It stands out in strange contrast to the sublime ideal of Plato and the splendid romance of More; it was demanded by exigency and was not infused with the spontaneous outpouring of enthusiasm, or thrown off as the occupation of a leisure hour. It is wanting in soul though not in spirit; the matter is learned and the style perspicuous. The fundamental idea is, that government is not an accidental or an arbitrary institution, there being in society natural causes producing their necessary effects as well as in the earth or in the air. Harrington looks beneath the superficies of society for the causes of the then existing agitations, and finds them in the increase of property, and consequently of power, in the hands of the commons. Hence his apothegm: "Empire follows the balance of property." This is the grand solution of which James Harrington is the *Œdipus*, and for which a biographer claims for him an eminence with Galileo, Harvey and other discoverers. That property has its influence in government is most true, but the extent of that influence has been more clearly ascertained since the middle of the seventeenth century. It is also true that it is not the paramount authority in the State; and that it should not be, every principle of our nature suggests, the experience of England attests, and our inborn independence demands. This question of property has

been the mountain in the otherwise even path of our speculators. Some glance around or soar above it; but the most meet it boldly, insert their bore silently, and shatter it by their explosive appliances. Plato does not hesitate at a community of property; More advocates it, perhaps only as a cloak for his satire; and Harrington is by no means equivocal in his opinion. We should not hastily condemn the classic speculators on this vital question; for there was wanting in their times that protecting arm which stimulates to labor by insuring reward which we possess. The rich held their property by a tenure as frail as their title was flimsy. It was by no means the accumulation of honest toil—the results of a sweating brow, which is the best title a man can have to a portion of God's bounty.

Another prominent idea of the *Oceana* is the ballot. Agrarianism is to preserve equality in the root by the balance of dominion, and the ballot by an equal rotation conveys it into the branch or exercise of sovereign power. This seems to have been a new idea, at least, in the time of Harrington. It troubled his answerers exceedingly, as it always will trouble the “demure, grave-looking, spring-nailed, velvet-pawed, green-eyed despisers of public opinion,” in every age and country. His friends had a club called Rota, where they met to discuss political principles, and where by way of essay, they used the ballot. The novelty of the operation filled their meetings, and the experiment might have been made in Parliament had not some iron-hand meddled overmuch in State affairs at that time. But it has become a mighty instrument in the hands of the descendants of the old Commonwealth men. We are doubtless indebted in a great degree to James Harrington for the still small voice of the ballot, which stays the tempests of party and persuades all into patriotic acquiescence. The plan of the *Oceana* is simple. The first part consists of preliminary dissertations on liberty, beginning at its dawn and closing with the times of the first Charles. In the second part he enters the visionary realm; he lays down in the form of laws for its government, certain positive propositions; introduces imaginary legislators who

represent various nations, as Israel, Athens, Sparta, &c. ; calls into his council Bacon, Hobbes, Cromwell and others under the titles Verulamius, Leviathan, Olphæus, Megaletor, &c. ; gives them the floor to discuss his laws, enlivens their rhetoric with metaphor and enriches their oratory with even more philosophy than would now be tolerated from a Macaulay or a Guizot ; and at last interposes the buckler of the Archon, the Premier of *Oceana* whose decisions give tone and character to the work. The laws thus enacted Harrington believed would establish equality in the framework of society. He saw the causes of the decay of all governments in the want of this equilibrium between different departments ; and since he had furnished the proper balance, his government would live forever. He did not consider that a very little friction, or even the slightest jar would increase by its own action, until the harmony of his contrivance should become confusion. The earth itself, as it "spins around on its soft axle," is silently changing its relations to the universe ; and at the best, finite reason cannot bestow upon anything mortal that immortality, or upon anything corruptible that incorruptibility, which the Almighty has refused to His productions. We are no friends to that rash generalization which would make the stars turn in circles rather than in ellipses, because it fills some loved idea of beauty. The world has had such a system of celestial mechanics, but who lives now—Galileo or his incarcerators ? It has had an *a priori* system of metaphysics ; but where now are the golden books of Eugene and Raymond Lully ? The schoolmen might elaborate and refine ; Thomas Aquinas might delve into his dialectics until he should turn the universe on a syllogistic axis ; but still the world would be marking time to the dull music of conservatism. Now, although our speculators differ as widely as the manners of their respective eras ; although many of their ideas are chimerical and absurd ; and although the results are impracticable ; yet, in this idea which runs throughout all their speculations, we agree with them, that modifications must be made, that improvements are always in order, and that that age is recreant to the past and reckless of the future that will not

dare and do something beyond the confines of mere barren custom,—something beside “swallowing antiquity whole” because gorgeous with the mystic pomp of elder days and armed with the authority of age. There is no government in which we cannot, with every day, discern many deficiencies, some redundancies and very few things that are not susceptible of change or emendation. An enlightened age will be governed more by reason than by authority; else, why this frequent enacting and abrogating; why this continual probing and analysis of the primordial principles of society; why these reformatory movements, these conventions to reëstablish fundamental constitutions? These peaceful movements are the most cheering signs of our age.

Now, since reforms cannot be made without previous conception and contemplation, there is nothing reprehensible in the mere imaginary forms of our authors. If their conceptions are true; if the intellectual ore is good, it is none the worse for being wrought into beautiful and elegant figures stamped in a perfect mould, or because glittering with the flash of fancy. We have seen that our authors were practical men; that they lived in trying times; and we might hence conclude, *a priori*, that the subjects upon which they treat are worthy of the consideration of even a practical age; but we subjoin one or two illustrations from the most flighty of them to show that they were in spirit, and would have been in deed, practical reformers. There cannot remain a doubt upon the mind of any reader of the *Utopia*, but that its author anticipated the great principles of commercial reciprocity, (so long considered *Utopian*) afterwards established theoretically by Adam Smith, and now about to be realized by the greatest commercial people on the globe. “If I do not find in the *Utopia*,” says Lord Campbell, “all the doctrines of sound political economy advocated by Adam Smith, I can distinctly point out in it the objections to a severe penal code which have at last prevailed after being urged in vain by Romilly and Mackintosh.” We know well the change that has been gradually taking place in public sentiment, as well as in jurisprudence, in relation to penalties. A very great number of the best thinkers of our time doubt

the right of society to take life *at all*. It is then a matter of present interest to observe the practical wisdom of the old Lord Chancellor, who would have introduced many remedial measures had it not been in advance of his age by many centuries. As we have not room to quote, we refer the intelligent reader to the original in which the many salutary effects of a humane penal code are insisted upon, and simple yet good reasons urged in its favor. We need not go into further detail to prove the practicability of *Utopia*. With some no demonstration could overcome the prejudice of the name under which it is imparted. To the truth-loving, names are but the shell, principles the kernel. Let the sincere reformer ask whether there is one form of society more perfect than another; then let him inquire which is the most perfect of all; after this he will be able to bring any real constitution or legal enactment as near it as possible, thus making it practical in every sense of the word.

The tendency of such speculations and the propriety of indulging in them, have ever been questioned. One class of minds have framed theories of mathematical exactness, and like the alchemist, dazzled by one splendid idea, have thrown fortune, reputation, character, heart and life into the crucible, and at the momentous trial of their charm have found for their golden dreams the bitter ashes of disappointment and despair. The other class reject all speculation, have no certain idea, but in the much abused name of common sense demand specific experiment for everything. They apply their *αὐτός ἔφη* to every theory, and, when too late, find that the expanding soul will not be compressed within the circle of their narrow comprehension. Between these too far separated extremes there lies the golden mean. Plato, the most sublime of our authors, does not, as is generally supposed, reason by rash generalities. He ascends to them, as Coleridge has shown, in the order of nature, from particulars,—the same method which Bacon pursued. We could show this at length, but we forbear. Because Plato is lofty, therefore must persons believe that he is poetic. Because he stands on the highest summits around which the eagle sweeps, they will not believe

that he ascended thither, step by step as the chamois, but on a bold wing of generalization. In his *Republic* this process is clearly discernible. He analyzes the mind of the individual, and then draws his conclusions as to a number of minds in society. But it may be asked, are not social phenomena intricate and complex, and can universal prescriptions, applicable to individuals, be applied to society? Yes; but only so far as the social and individual characters are identical. Hobbes and Machiavelli, looking on the dark side of human nature, regarded man as a huge leviathan to be restrained from rude outrage by an iron grip. Plato and More, who regarded man too exclusively, perhaps, in his divine character, may each and all agree in regarding social identical with individual phenomena; and to a certain point all of them may be right, and so far that the general laws of each may be applicable to society; but it is, on the one extreme, unphilosophical to refer all the unforeseen, peculiar and infinitely varied circumstances of society to the general ideas of the one class; and since from these circumstances, combined with the dogma of a Hobbes, we may draw principles in economy, founded in the fear and selfishness of men, or combined with the idea of a Plato principles of national glory, founded in the hope and disinterestedness of human nature—it would be as unphilosophical on the other extreme to condemn such speculations for their seemingly impractical tendency.

Without inquiring how much of the individual is or should be sunk in society, (a question of such confusion and intricacy as to require a Psyche to sort out the truth from the error) we cannot but see that the systems of our authors, if applied to society now, would be as incongruous as the laws of the imagination applied to the motions of the heavenly bodies. If ever realizable it must be in a Commonwealth of angels; but this is not the test that we propose to apply. In this view their authors never expected their realization; however, this does not decide their absurdity, any more than the failure to be a perfect Christian decides the absurdity of St. Paul's advice to Timothy: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for cor-

rection, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." It was never expected that all men, or even a society of men, would reach the happy points whither the author's imaginations tended any more than the mariner expects to land in the star by which he directs his course. But have they then no place in this world? Is the spiritual ear of society closed? Is government but a painted corpse? Is that unseem arm, which no forging can fetter, paralyzed? Have those hoarse undertones of public opinion, that mutter great principles in great curses, ceased for ever? Has that hidden heart, in whose fire constitutions of paper and symbols of power are as chaff, stopped its mighty pulsation? Has that spirit infused into the uprising masses ceased to pervade, feed, invigorate and energize the anatomy of government? No! There is a moral sense—a soul in the State, which longs for something more than the tariffs, the bank and the bankrupt bills of a temporizing present; which looks for some celestial beacon to direct the course of popular movement throughout the eternal future. If it be an infirmity to love to minister to the aspirations of the invisible soul of the State, it has been the infirmity of earth's noblest minds. If such ministration be dreaming, it is the dreaming of a Jupiter.

The earth has often given refuge to spirits kindred to Plato. More and Harrington, who have felt themselves imprisoned in these "walls of flesh," and in their longings and strivings, have burst the bonds which held them, and have soared towards the perfection of a purer existence, kindling their undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam, purging and sealing their much abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance. In the wildest aberrations of such spirits, we recognize a sublime aspiration which creates within us an awe and binds us to them in generous sympathy. A Pythagoras talked of an immaterial unity and a material duality, and fancied that the efficient and essential cause was hidden beneath his mysterious principles of numeration; and as he hung entranced upon his idea, he believed that he saw things invisible to mortals, and heard the far off music of the spheres. A Paracelsus,

impressed with the perfect uniformity of the universe, that "Jupiter est quodcumque vides, quocumque moveris," inferred that the same unerring Hand which bound the sweet influences of Pleiades and loosened the bands of Orion, likewise planned the human soul; and that this breathing microcosm, man, sympathized with the "poetry of heaven," and hung its destiny on the changes and combinations of the burning stars. Something of the same spirit, less erratic, more noble, inspired Plato and his followers with the belief that there was a latent principle of harmony by which the jarring units of existence could be combined and reproduced with ten-fold loveliness in one boundless devotion to the commonweal, and in one undeviating faith in the supreme intelligence. Something of the same spirit now glows in the bosom of every live member of this Commonwealth of America. Call it what you will, *destiny* or what not, it is leading us as a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. It beckons to us from the dim and shadowy distance; it illumines our faces with hope and lights our eyes with enterprise. Who can define it? As well define infinity, space, eternity! Yet, who so heartless as not to feel it? Its effects are seen in the throbbing pulse of America; it overwhelms and controls us; yet who would stem its rushing stream? It was this idea which inspired the eloquence of Everett, as he recalled the prophecy of Berkeley, and as he beheld "man forever flying westward from civil and religious thralldom, bearing his household gods over mountains and seas, seeking rest and finding none, but still pursuing the flying bow of promise to the glittering hills which it spans in Hesperian climes. In that high romance," he continues, "if romance it be, in which the great minds of antiquity sketched the fortune of the ages to come, they pictured to themselves a favored region beyond the ocean; a land of equal laws and happy men. The primitive poet beheld it in the islands of the blest; the Doric bards surveyed it in the Hyperborean regions; the sages of the Academy placed it in the lost Atlantis; and even the sterner spirit of Seneca could discover a fairer abode of humanity in distant regions then unknown."

We look back upon these inspired predictions, and almost

recoil from the obligation they imply. By us must these fair visions be realized; by us must be fulfilled these high promises, which burst in trying hours from the longing hearts of the champions of truth. There are no more continents to be revealed; Atlantis hath arisen from the ocean, the furthest Thule is reached, and there are no more retreats beyond the sea, no more discoveries, no more hopes. Here, then, on these shores, a mighty work is to be fulfilled, or never, by the race of mortals.

And is there no energy in this our Saxon race, no elements of perfection in this our human nature, by which to attempt that destiny? Was Plato toying with a bubble, More fondling a phantom and Harrington playing with a feather? We think of the unspotted life and stainless soul of the divine Man of Galilee, who dare believe and answer, No! We attempt to grasp the idea of finished and consummate excellence—the real attributes of God which pervade all nature, exhibiting His infinite power, wisdom and goodness; yet our finite mind believes and would answer, No! There must be a principle of perfection, although but feebly developed as yet, in the soul which acknowledges Him as the fountain. This principle glimmers here and there through all literature. We can best enunciate it by borrowing an image from Milton. "In the building of the temple," says he, "some were cutting, some squaring the marble and others hewing the cedars; and when every stone was artfully laid together in contiguity, there arose out of many moderate varieties and brotherly similitudes the goodly and graceful symmetry of perfection." The perfection of Plato differs from this, in that the pile, like an Aladdin palace, rises from some unseen enchantment, or like an exhalation,

".....with the sound
Of dulcet symphonies, and voices sweet,"

presenting not a mere contiguity of materials, but one continuous pile of chaste magnificence. One is the perfection of the prismatic ray, whose hues are beautifully blended; the other is the perfection of the beam, clear, unique, white, straight and dazzling. More and Harrington gather the

graces from the masters and form an image whose softened symmetry and majestic mien enchain the taste. Theirs is the magic of the marble, comparatively cold and colorless, yet so artful that you are surprised into admiration—so rounded that its proportions gradually dilate upon the enchanted vision. Plato catches the beauty which leaps with warm spontaneity from his own master-soul, and leaves an image whose evanescent gradations of shade, exquisite allusion and glorious coloring enrapture the intellect and enthrall the heart. He is the polished and appealing eloquence of the perfect man, starting from the canvas with the divine attribute written on his brow. The works of the Britons may be imitated and even bettered; but the image of the Greek baffles every attempt to emend or imitate. The enraptured beholder sees but “one immortal feature of loveliness and truth;” he cannot fly from the force, the brilliancy, the ineffable purity which transcends all art, absorbs all thought and lifts the soul into its own beautiful and blissful heaven.

To him who recognizes that nobility in human nature, which, even when practice differs, always detests vice and defends virtue; to him who believes that a good and not an evil omnipotence created us; that every day deadens a note of discord and sweeps a string of harmony in the human soul; to him who feels that there is a universal conscience which will never cry peace while impunity and injustice exists; to him, the *Republic*, the *Utopia* and the *Oceana* embody an earnest sense and a congenial faith in the *summi gravissimique fines* of social existence which has ever been sung by the prophetic harps of the earth, and uttered by the divinest oracles of heaven.

ART. II.—THE BATTLE-FIELD OF RUSSIA AND ENGLAND.

1. *Central Asia*. By CAPT. L. KOSTENKO, Member of the Russian Geographical Society.
2. *The Russian Power in the East*. By M. GALKIN, Governor of Saratoff.
3. *Life of Dost Mohammed Khan*. By MOHOON LAL.—RUSSELL'S *Indian Diary*.
4. *Letters of a Competition Wallah from India*. By G. O. TREVELYAN.

IN every continent of the globe, there is some one region where the Past has intrenched itself against the Present, and maintained its ancient barbarism unaltered amid the ever-changing world of progress and civilization. Such a region is Patagonia, in South America; the line of the Rio Grande, in the United States; Albania, in Europe; and in Asia the wild mountain tract extending from the Oxus to the Himalaya, called by its warlike inhabitants "Wilajit" (Mother-land), but better known to us under its Persian name of Afghanistan (country of the Afghans).

From the shores of the Frozen Ocean to the reedy banks of the Oxus, Northern Asia is in the hands of Russia. From Cape Comorin to the precipices of the Khyber Pass, Southern Asia is in the hands of Britain. Between the two lies a fierce mountain population of mixed races, variously estimated at from 4,000,000 to 7,500,000, among which independent Mohammedanism in Asia has found its last and surest refuge.*

* Afghanistan is the headquarters of the Soonee sect, as Persia is of the Sheeahs, the latter reverencing Mohammed's son-in-law, Ali, as his true successor, the former rejecting him.

Secure amid the solitudes of their native hills, they lead the semi-pastoral, semi-warrior life of the Scottish Highlanders in former times and the Circassians of our own, practising without stint all the virtues and all the vices of barbarism. Brave, hospitable, chivalrous, cunning, cruel, intolerant of change, bigotedly attached to his own customs, and looking down upon surrounding nations with the disdain of the born-warrior, the Afghan is, indeed, one of the strangest waifs stranded by the ebb of the Middle Ages upon the shore of the nineteenth century; and those who have seen him as he is, leaning upon his long mountain rifle, with his fierce black eyes gleaming from beneath the shadow of his gay-colored turban, his crimson sash knotted around his waist, and a perfect arsenal of pistols and daggers outlining their embossed handles against the snowy whiteness of his ample caftan, must recognize him at a glance as a being whose natural element is war.

Nor is the country unworthy of the people. Snowy peaks, frowning precipices, fertile valleys, sunny pasture-lands, shaggy woods, deep, gloomy gorges, white-walled cities embowered in clustering foliage, alternate throughout the whole of this Asiatic Switzerland, which, separating the great plain of India from that of Tartary as its European counterpart separates Lombardy from the Rhineland, still defies from its rocky fastnesses, the two great civilizations which are slowly closing upon it from either side. The network of mountain-ranges which culminates to the north in the Hindoo-Koosh, and to the south in the mighty mass of Himalaya, environs it on three sides with a natural rampart penetrable only by a few narrow and perilous defiles, such as the Khyber Pass to the North-east, and the Bolan Pass on the South; and in the centre of this great fortress of Nature lies the wide green plain upon which, on a small river of the same name, stands the far-famed city of Cabul.

Despite its manifest superiority both as a military and a political centre, the Afghan metropolis suffered a temporary eclipse about the middle of the last century, through the rise of its southern rival, Kandahar. The latter, founded in 1754 by Shah Ahmed, the greatest of Afghan sovereigns, speedily

grew into one of the largest and most flourishing cities of the kingdom; but on its founder's death in 1772, his effeminate son Timour, retransferred the seat of government to Cabul, where it has remained ever since.

It must be owned that this dignity is fully merited. The first glimpse of the Ameer's capital, lying amid its life-guard of encircling villages on the broad, well-watered plain, which the low purple hills close in on every side, has a marvellous picturesqueness, heightened by the countless gardens that complete every Eastern landscape through which the tiny river goes dancing and sparkling in the sunshine like a child at play.* The houses are of wood, but much neater and more commodious than is usual with Asiatic cities. The great bazaar and several of the more important public buildings are of essentially modern construction, thanks to the partial demolition of the place by the English in October, 1842; but it possesses one splendid monument of antiquity in the tomb of the Emperor Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty of India.

The climate of the central plain is surprisingly healthy on the whole, although the uncleanly habits of the natives and the disproportionate amount of fruit which they consume, render them liable to the same diseases which have so fearfully ravaged Khokand and Bokhara. Foreigners, on the other hand, are chiefly exposed to the risk of fever and ophthalmia, owing to the sudden and violent changes of temperature produced by the unequal elevation of the surface, and the keen winds that sweep down from the encircling mountains. At some seasons, the night temperature falls below that of the day fully thirty degrees Fahrenheit, a fact which has more than once proved fatal to the Hindoo soldiers employed by England.

From a military point of view, again, the position of the Afghan capital—which may be compared with that of Sophia in Western Turkey—is admirable for all purposes of defence.

*Cabul may be easily imagined by those who have seen either Damascus or Samarcand, although it lacks both the commanding surroundings of the one, and the wonderful architectural richness of the other.

Placed at the intersection of the four great roads leading to Koondooz, Herat, Peshawur and Kandahar, it is protected on the North by the snows of the Hindoo Keosh, and on the South and East by the westernmost spur of the Suleimann range, while the more practicable approach from the south-west is commanded by the impregnable fortress of Ghizni, the Afghan Gibraltar, which has never been taken but once, and then only by treachery.* In a word, Cabul needs nothing but a more complete system of fortification to make it one of the strongest places in Central Asia.

Such, then, is the "debateable land" for which the two great pioneers of the Far East—the Slavonian and the Anglo-Saxon—are about to contend. The struggle is a momentous one; and it may not be amiss to examine however hastily and imperfectly, the resources which each of the two rivals can command.

Between England and Russia, as at present confronted in the East, the balance of material advantage unquestionably lies with the former, which had already completed her conquest of India by the annexation of Oude in 1856, at a time when her future opponent was still creeping cautiously along the North-western border of the vast territory which is now wholly in her power. The great quadrangle of Hindostan is traversed by railways from North to South and from East to West. Bombay and Calcutta are now within sixty-three hours of each other, and the officer who returns from his holiday on the breezy coast of Coromandel, quits the cars only to rejoin his regiment at the gates of Peshawur. The fierce native tribes of the North—the Sikh, the Rajpoot, the Ghoorka—have been compressed into the mold of European discipline, and are now among the stanchest soldiers of the nation which conquered their fathers. The English flag floats over a well-appointed force of 22,698 British soldiers and 118,663 natives, without reckoning the countless irregulars. Out of the twelve native rulers who still bear sway in British India, viz.: the Maharajah of Gwalior, the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Maharajah of Oodeypore, the Begum of Bhopaul, the Rajah of

* During the English invasion of 1841.

Indore, the Gaëkwar of Baroda, and the Maharajahs of Bhurtpore, Puttiala, Jodpore, Jeypore, Travancore and Cashmere—only the last has ever given any cause to doubt his fidelity, and two of the number, Scindiah of Gwalior and Holkar of Indore, have proved theirs in the darkest crisis of the great agony of 1857.

On the other hand, Russia's position in Central Asia has no such advantages. The Kizil-Koum (Red Sand) Desert, which occupies the whole central portion of her territory, being absolutely uninhabitable, she has to maintain her hold upon Turkistan exclusively by a line of military posts along the outer rim of the horse-shoe formed by the two great rivers which inclose the central desert, viz. : the Syr-Daria or Jaxartes, and the Amu-Daria or Oxus. Many of these posts are nothing more than little mud forts, covering a smaller area than Madison Square, (New York,) and armed only with three or four light guns apiece. Forts Kara-Butak and Uralsk, on the steppes to the North of the Sea of Aral—Forts Nos. 1, 2, Perovski and Djulek on the Lower Syr-Daria, and the garrison-towns of Turkistan, Tchemkent and Tashkent, higher up the stream—these, together with the great military centre of Samarcand farther South, compose the cordon which connects the frontier of European Russia with that of Afghanistan, 13,000 miles distant.

Nor are these drawbacks compensated, as is sometimes the case, by an overwhelming weight of numbers. Of the 1,174,000 men whom Russia, by exerting her utmost strength, can call to arms at the present moment, but a very small portion could be made available for a campaign to the south of the Oxus. Asia alone deducts more than 200,000 from the sum total, viz., 167,300 for the Caucasus, 22,504 for West and 15,478 for East Siberia, and 26,500 for Russian Turkistan. Add to these the innumerable garrison of European Russia, the large standing armies maintained in Poland, Finland and the Baltic Provinces, the 153,000 troops still occupying Bulgaria and Roumelia, and the reserves which must be held in readiness for a possible renewal of the late war—and it shall be seen at a glance that Russia has but few men to spare against

the Anglo-Indian frontier, and absolutely no facilities for transporting them thither if she had them. Moreover, the Syr-Daria being only one foot deep in many places during the dry season, and the magnificent Oxus being still unutilized as a highway of steam navigation, all reinforcements and supplies sent to any force operating in the south of Central Asia, must necessarily follow the long and laborious overland route, at an expense which may be estimated by the single fact that the transport of every quarter of flour despatched from Orenburg to the Syr-Daria costs \$12.

But in compensation for all these drawbacks, Russia possesses one advantage which can hardly be overrated—that of superior skill in diplomacy. In this point, indeed, her superiority is so manifest as to desire no demonstration. How she deals with Eastern nations, those who are familiar with the career of Gen. Ignatieff can judge for themselves; how England deals with them may be summed up in the pithy sentence with which a great historian has branded the sledge-hammer policy of ancient Rome: "By repeated and wilful errors of judgment she lost ground which she was subsequently forced to regain by wholesale war and bloodshed." In the last century, the diplomacy of Lally and Dupleix gained France an ascendancy over the native Princes of Hindostan, which was only transferred to England, after many a hard battle, by the consummate military skill of Lord Clive. In our day, Russia, without firing a shot, has won over the Ameer of Afghanistan, whom Britain is now preparing to win back by the persuasive arguments of Snider rifles and mountain howitzers.

The real cause of all this is that the Englishman, go where he will, is still essentially a European, with all the European's instinctive horror of outlandish customs and habitual disorder, and an unconquerable impulse for "putting things to rights." This is precisely what the conservative Oriental can least endure. To any ordinary Asiatic, even the tyranny of his own rulers is less hateful than the foreigner's well-meant but awkward attempts at reorganization and reform; and it is now a matter of history that such attempts were the prime cause of

the most dangerous outbreaks which have ever occurred in Hindostan.

On the other hand, the semi-Asiatic Russian, skilful to perceive and to humor the innate prejudices of his Eastern half-brother, contents himself with exacting from the latter the one service required of him, leaving him free to follow his own bent in everything beyond. The conquered Tukomans and Kirghiz still retain the dress, language, customs, and religion of their independent forefathers. The Circassians of the Czar's lifeguard wear to this day, in the streets of St. Petersburg, the pointed helmets, chain-mail bonds, and embroidered tunics, in which they once rode under the banner of Schamyl. The Cossacks of the Don go to battle with their native weapons, and under the guidance of their native officers. "The fact is," said a Russian officer to the writer at Samarcand in 1873, "we Russians know how to manage the Asiatics, and the English don't." Volumes could not have said more; nor could any one have objected to the verdict on the score of inexperience, for he who gave it was no other than General Abramoff himself.*

It is by the subtle policy above quoted that Russia has made good her material deficiencies and outgeneralled alike barbarism and civilization. The crafty Chinese, the faithless Persian, the ferocious Bokhariote, the intractable Afghan have all given away in turn before the invisible but overmastering power of Muscovite diplomacy. The hands of St. Petersburg diplomats have pulled the wires which are now setting in array the native soldiers of Afghanistan against the native soldiers of British India; and thus, in this extraordinary conflict, the races of Asiatic Mohammedans are preparing to cut each other's throats for the benefit of two Christian States which they have never seen, and which lie thousands of miles away.

Such, then, is the situation. But it must be remarked that in this case, as in many others, the Englishmen of the present day are merely paying the penalty incurred by the misdeeds

* The military Governor of Samarcand, and late Russian Envoy to Cabul.

of their forefathers. In order to appreciate more fully the amazing contrast of the effects produced by England's Asiatic policy and by that of Russia, it may be worth while to look back and see under what form each of the two great rivals first presented itself to Afghanistan.

Somewhat more than a hundred years ago, when Northern India was still independent and the frontier of Siberia marked the limit of Russia's Asiatic possessions, the East India Company, finding itself in want of money, applied for assistance to its first Governor-General, Warren Hastings. At that particular moment no possible source of supply appeared to present itself; but the unscrupulous ingenuity of the great Viceroy was not long devising an expedient. Soojah Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, the weakest and most vicious of all the native despots of India, had cast longing eyes upon the fine hill-country of Rohileund, peopled by the bravest of the Afghan tribes, one handful of whom would have been more than enough for the whole cowardly rabble which he called his army. But the tyrant, although weak in men, was strong in money, and knew well how to employ it. An infamous bargain was struck. For a bribe of forty "lacs" of rupees (\$2,000,000) an English Viceroy despatched an English army to crush a brave people who were fighting in defence of their homes, and to force upon a free community the worst form of Asiatic misrule! Such a specimen of Western civilization and Christianity was not a thing to be easily effaced. On the testimony of Lord Macaulay himself—the last man to exaggerate any anti-English fact or feeling—this great national sin has never been forgotten or forgiven: * and its sting was yet fresh when the mischief, began by the remorseless genius of Warren

* "Even at the present time, valor, self-respect, and a chivalrous feeling rare among Asiatics, and a bitter remembrance of the great crime of England, distinguish the noble Afghan race. To this day, they are universally regarded as the best of all Sepoys at the cold steel; and it was recently remarked by one who had enjoyed the fullest opportunities of observation, that the only natives of India to whom the term 'gentlemen' can with perfect propriety be applied, are to be found among the Rohillas."—Macaulay's *Essay on Warren Hastings*.

Hastings, was consummated by the obstinate stupidity of those incarnate "blue-books," Lords Auckland and Ellenborough.

In 1838, when the first of these well-matched rulers was Viceroy of India, his Secretary, Sir William McNaughton—whose cruel death amid the storm which he had raised but half expiated the incalculable injuries that he inflicted upon his country—suggested a crusade into Afghanistan, for the purpose of dethroning the able and popular Ameer, Dost Mohammed Khan, in favor of a worthless native protégé of the British Government, Shah Soojah by name. For this violent proceeding there was not even the shadow of a pretext, and the whole enterprise was as unjustifiable as it was rash and ill-considered. It opened, however, like many other great historical catastrophes, with a brilliant though delusive success. General Elphinstone's army penetrated into the heart of the country. The treachery of a native deserter opened the gates of the impregnable stronghold of Ghizni. Cabul itself was occupied by 16,000 Argle—Indian troops—Dost Mohammed was carried captive to India in October, 1840; and for a moment Afghanistan seemed destined to share the fate of Bengal and Rajpootana.

But the stern Highlanders of the North, who had held their own for centuries against every Power of Central Asia, were men of different mould from the soft Hindoos of the Ganges. While the British army lay in fancied security within the walls of Cabul, thousands of grim, stalwart men in white tunics and grand turbans, each with his long rifle on his shoulder, were gathering silently around it on every side. On the 5th of November, the murder of Sir Alexander Burnes, the noblest of the countless martyrs to political imbecility, ushered in the great day of national vengeance. Then followed, in quick succession, the capture of the British store-train, the destruction of the reconnoitering parties sent out too late by the incapable Commander-in-Chief, and, finally, the "convention of retreat" which delivered the doomed army into the hands of its destroyers. In the fatal Pass of Koord-Cabul the invaders perished literally to a man, one solitary survivor

escaping to bear the dismal tale to Jellalabad.* With that terrible day ended the British conquest of Afghanistan; for although the storm of indignation which these disasters aroused in England goaded even the sluggish Ellenborough into a second advance upon Cabul in the ensuing Summer, the city was occupied only to be immediately abandoned, and the whole campaign exactly realized the bitter epigram of Tacitus, "Not a conquest, but a parade." Dost Mohammed, set free in the Autumn of 1842, resumed the crown of which he had been unjustly deprived; and the victorious mountaineers poured forth more triumphantly than ever their fierce native war-song: "God hath given the sky to the eagle, the jungle to the tiger, and the mountain to the Gilye" (Afghan.)

Twenty-seven years went by. Bokhara had been irritated against England by the mission of Dr. Wolff, Khiva by that of Sir Richard Shakespeare. The recall of Mr. Edward Eastwick from Teheran had weakened Britain's influence in Persia, and Afghanistan was sullenly neutral. But a new combatant was about to enter the field, whose shadow, projected from beyond the Syr-Daria, had already overspread all Central Asia from the north to the south.

Russia's annexation of Siberia in 1581, had allayed only for a time her thirst of Oriental dominion. As early as the Spring of the eighteenth century, she had begun to cast longing eyes upon the unknown regions beyond the Caspian Sea, which were to her, for many generations, what the fabled "El Dorado" of the West had once been to Britain and Spain. Legends of inexhaustible mines of gold and gems, hidden amid the mountains from which the Zer-Affshan ("gold-giving") rolls down toward Samarcand, travelled westward with the caravans that crossed the steppes of Central Asia to the great fair of Nijni-Novgorod. These dazzling myths attracted to the supposed treasure-lands more than one daring explorer of the time of Peter the Great—and not altogether in

* This man was a regimental surgeon named Brydon. It is a common error to locate this great tragedy in the Khyber Pass, which in reality lies many miles east of the true scene of action, between Jellalabad and Peshawur.

vain. Actual treasure, indeed, these bold adventurers found little or none; but the glowing descriptions which they brought back with them of the strange lands that they had visited, gave an additional stimulus to the impulse of foreign conquest already kindled by the successful wars of the "founder of Russia;" and from that time till the Russian flag was first hoisted on the Turkoman steppes, a hundred years later, that impulse never wholly died out.

It was not, however, till the reign of Nicholas that the work of annexation began in earnest. The few settlements planted between the Caspian Sea and Lake Aral before 1839, were mere isolated trading-posts, like those of the Hudson Bay Company in British America. But the disastrous failure in that year, of Colonel Perovski's Winter expedition against Khiva, sufficiently demonstrated the folly of attempting to operate against the Powers of Central Asia at so vast a distance from any base of supply. Perovski's successor, Obrucheff, warmly advocated the establishment of a cordon of military posts through the heart of the country, as the most effectual method of holding the hostile tribes in check. He was himself the first to reduce his own theory to practice, by the erection of Fort Kara-Butak in 1845, midway between the Lake of Aral and the frontier of European Russia. In 1846, came the construction of Uralsk further to the South, as a kind of citadel for the town of that name; and in the following year the building of Fort Aralskoë at the mouth of the Syr-Daria gave Russia her first hold upon the great river, although it was speedily abandoned for Kazorlinsk (Fort No. 1) forty miles higher up the stream, and is now altogether in ruins.

The Khan of Khokand, whose dominion then extended from the Lake of Aral to the border of China, lost no time in resenting this intrusion; but European arms and European discipline proved more than a match for the tumultuous rabble which confronted them. Mile after mile, the shadow of Russian conquest crept eastward along the famous river. Fort No. 2 was founded, then Fort No. 3 (now deserted.) Two small gun-boats manned by Russian seamen, went steaming from post to post; and in 1853, the important stronghold

of Ak-Metchet (White Mosque) unsuccessfully attacked the year before, was taken by storm, and rebaptized "Fort Perovski."* Among its bravest defenders was a nameless soldier of fortune, who was one day to write his name in history as Yakoub Beg, Sultan of Kashgar, and to receive Russian and British ambassadors in a capital of which at that time he had never even heard.

While Russia was thus pushing her advance up the Syr-Daria, she was thrusting forth a second line of conquest to meet it, from the southern borders of Siberia. The two continued to converge by degrees till 1864, when the capture of Aulié-Ata on one side, and of the towns of Turkistan and Tchemkent on the other, established Russia's supremacy over the whole northern half of Central Asia. In the following Summer the fall of Tashkent (now the Russian capital of the new province) sealed the fate of Khokandese independence; and Bokhara, alarmed by the overthrow of her neighbor, started up to defend herself. But she awoke too late. The crushing defeat of Irdjar in 1861, when a host of 70,000 Bokhariotes, led by the Ameer in person, were put to flight by 7,000 Russians, was followed in October by the fall of Djizak, the key of Southern Bokhara, and by the establishment of Russian troops in the heart of the country. The Ameer's efforts to expel them in the ensuing year failed disastrously; and in May, 1868, the battle of Tchepan-Ata and the fall of Samarcand finally erased Bokhara from the roll of independent nations, and made her, once and for ever, a yassal of the Czar.

Throughout the whole of this long career of conquest, Russia never deviated from one fixed line of policy. To foment secretly the endless wars in which the native princes wasted their strength—to put her enemy always in the wrong—to make the outrages perpetrated upon her caravans, or the oppression of friendly tribes by the native sovereigns, the pretext of every fresh advance—such was her invariable method

* It was from this point that my brother correspondent of 1873, Mr J. A. MacGahan of the New York Herald, started on his famous ride across the desert to Khiva.

from first to last. This Machiavellian policy reached its apogee in General Ignatieff's masterpiece, the Russo-Bokhariote Treaty of 1857, solemnly appealed to by Russia in all subsequent disputes.

But despite this show of moderation, such vast and unremitting progress on the part of a foreign power could not but startle those who lay in its track. Shere Ali, the Ameer of Afghanistan, remembering the experience of his father Dost Mohammed, began to take alarm; and the anti-Russian party in England loudly demanded an adjustment of boundaries without loss of time. In the early Spring of 1869, the project of a "neutral zone" between British India and Asiatic Russia first took shape and substance; but, despite the hearty support of many English politicians, it remained in suspense more than three years longer, till the march of events at length forced it upon the public attention in a way impossible to ignore.

In November, 1872, it was suddenly announced that Colonel Markozoff, with a strong detachment of Cossack troops, had left Krasnovodsk on a reconnoissance through the territory lying between the Caspian Sea and the Lower Oxus. At the same time, rumors began to get abroad of extensive preparations making in Russia for an attack upon the Khanate of Khiva in the ensuing Spring. The prospect of the speedy extinction of the last independent power in Central Asia startled both England and Afghanistan into momentary activity. Lord Augustus Loftus, the British Minister at St. Petersburg, received instructions to demand a distinct pledge that no further annexations should be made by Russia in Central Asia. The Viceroy of India began to concentrate troops on the north-western frontier, while Shere Ali, alarmed at the rapid progress of the Russian arms, showed a willingness to ally himself with Britain, and even to permit an English occupation of the strategic triangle of Badakhshan, which lies in the fork of the Upper Oxus, directly in the path of Russia's advance southward.

Then was England's golden opportunity—an opportunity such as had never presented itself before, and seems little

likely ever to occur again. By one vigorous move the past might be atoned, the present utilized, the future secured once for all. The memory of former injuries might be effaced from the mind of the Afghan nation by a timely and generous offer of assistance. Russia's ambition might be crushed, England's prestige in Asia reestablished beyond dispute, and the frontier of India, bucklered by a free and warlike people, bound to its defence alike by the instinct of gratitude and by that of self-preservation.

"We have now an opportunity of securing ourselves against Russian aggression," said the London *Morning Post* of December 24th, 1872, "which, if once let slip may never occur again. Nature has made the Oxus a line of demarcation between Turkistan and Afghanistan; it behooves us to preserve that line inviolate. If it be argued that the Ameer has made no actual occupation of Badakhshan, the best thing we can do is to give him a few cargoes of Snider rifles, and let him make one as soon as possible. That done, let Russia push her outposts up to the Oxus if she will; but let her Cossack videttes, looking across the great river, see along the farther bank a line of rifles shouldered by the sentries of our friend and ally, the Ameer of Afghanistan."

Other leading organs of the English press held similar language; a large section of the English public warmly advocated the all-important measure; and for one moment it seemed as if the good cause were really about to carry the day. But at that supreme crisis, the fatal power of Russian diplomacy prevailed once more. Count Schouvaloff, sent to London at the close of that very month, ostensibly for the purpose of arranging the preliminaries of the Grand Duchess' marriage with the Duke of Edinburgh, was in reality charged with a far weightier, although unavowed mission—that of feeling the pulse of English public opinion, and calming the prevalent anti-Russian agitation until Russia's work in the East should be thoroughly done. The specious diplomacy of Prince Gortschakoff's aptest pupil, and probable successor, triumphed, not for the first time, over even the unanswerable logic of facts. Russia gained a few month's respite, and even these few months

were more than sufficient for her purpose. Khiva fell in the ensuing Summer, and the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, flinging its extorted pledge to the winds, at once annexed the greater portion of the Khanate, and established the supremacy of Russia over all the region north of the Oxus. The precious moment was irrevocably lost, and upon the heads of those who allowed it to escape will rest the blood of every man killed on either side in the present conflict.

The fruits of this suicidal folly are already abundantly visible. If left free to choose between England and Russia, Shere Ali would probably have sided with the former, for the real or supposed assistance given by Russia to the attempts made upon his crown by Yakoub Khan and Mahmoud Isa still rankled in his memory. But no such choice was allowed him. England having rejected his alliance, Russia alone remained; and she, on her side, was perfectly ready to meet his advances half-way. A Russian Envoy was sent to Cabul, and received there with the utmost cordiality. The news of this sudden friendliness soon spread abroad. Rumors of a secret Russo-Afghan compact began to circulate. The British Government, perceiving its error too late, made a blundering attempt to repair it, which was infinitely worse than none at all, and has now fallen back upon the good old traditional method of bringing its stray sheep back to the fold by the gentle coercion of fixed bayonets.

To sum up the whole affair, then, in a few words, Russia has picked up what England threw away, and England is now about taking it back again by main force. The terms in which this object has recently been avowed, are worthy of some attention. "We have now," says an Anglo-Indian journal—faithfully echoed a few weeks since by the *London Times*—"we have now an excellent opportunity of rectifying our Indian frontier, and securing it against attack, by taking possession of all the border passes, from the Khyber to the Bolan; and such a chance ought not to be let slip."

Seldom indeed, even by Russia, has the gospel of annexation been more fully and boldly preached. The frontier of British India may possibly be imperiled, and therefore it is

the duty of those who hold British India to seize upon the keys of Afghanistan, and leave the latter absolutely defenceless, her sovereign having luckily afforded some kind of pretext for doing so. It will be observed, however, that the advocates of this summary measure do not leave it to stand exclusively upon its own merits. On the contrary, they declare it to be necessitated by the weightiest of all motives, that of self-defence. The border passes are to be seized, in order to "secure the Anglo-Indian frontier against attack." This has undoubtedly some show of reason, always provided the alleged excuse be really valid. But *is* it so?

The advocates of the "self-defence" theory have recently received a considerable accession of strength from the adhesion of an unquestionably weighty authority. Sir James Stephens, whose opinion upon any Anglo-Indian question must always command the respect due to long experience, has lately given to the world, in the columns of a leading English journal, his avowed conviction that "British influence must be paramount in Afghanistan, in order to insure the safety of the British Empire in Asia." Such an assertion, to those who are acquainted with the respective size, population, and natural resources of the two countries, must appear, at the outset, very much like declaring that the national existence of the United States depends upon the maintenance of perfect order in Staten Island. But a theory which has power to set in motion thousands of fighting men, and formidable trains of artillery, cannot be easily ignored, however it may be dissented from; and that Sir James' opinion is likewise that of the present British Ministry, is sufficiently proved by the negotiations with the Khybercees tribes, the massing of troops at Quetta, Mooltan, and Peshawur, and the projected advance upon Cabul in the Spring. For the hundredth time England is disquieted by the sinister possibility which has haunted her for years past—viz. : an invasion of India from without, aided by a simultaneous rebellion from within.

Chimerical as this notion will doubtless appear to those who know the real facts of the case, it has unquestionably not a few firm believers. Those who were on the Upper Ganges

in 1866, will remember the excitement produced among the native population of one of the largest towns by the announcement that the sound of distant firing, really occasioned by the manœuvres of a review, was due to "Oorooss (Russians) falling upon the Ingleez" (English.) Indeed, had Russia been near enough in May, 1857, to give active support to Nana Sahib and Tantia Topee, instead of being more than twice as distant as she is now, India would certainly have been lost for the time being. But it may well be doubted whether a recurrence of the catastrophe is sufficiently imminent to necessitate an absolute conquest of Afghanistan; and in such a case, the facts may safely be left to speak for themselves.

Those which bear upon the question of invasion have been already stated, and are certainly very far from justifying the apprehension of any immediate crusade on the part of Russia against England's Eastern possessions. A Power weak in men and means of transport, as we have shown Russia to be, can hardly attempt to wage war on an extended scale at a distance of many hundred miles from her base of supply, without injuring herself infinitely more than her enemy—a fact amply proved by the fatal campaign on the Danube in 1853. It may of course be argued that she will have the powerful support of the Afghan allies thrust upon her by the folly of the British Cabinet. But, granting that she could succeed in persuading the "Giljyes" to leave their homes *en masse* for a dash against India, it by no means follows that such an enterprise would be a successful one. Formidable as they are amid the pathless wilds of their native mountains, the hardy "hill-men" would melt like snow on the sultry plains of the South, where nine men are wasted away by sickness for one who dies manfully in fair fight. Moreover, it may well be doubted whether even Russian diplomacy could long hold together this incongruous mass of a thousand jarring atoms, which the imminent peril of 1841 barely sufficed to unite during the few weeks that the actual struggle lasted.

To have any hope of success, then, an invasion from without must be aided by a general uprising from within. But those who argue the probability of this from the experience

of 1857, are really arguing against themselves. The Sepoy mutiny, with all its violence, was as completely a local and partial movement as the Polish insurrection of 1863. Only one of the three Presidencies felt the shock at all. Bombay and Madras were absolutely undisturbed. The Sikh and Ghoorka troops remained uniformly faithful, and even signalized themselves by their eagerness to be first in the assault on every occasion. Of the gallant sixty-six, who held the little house at Arrah for twenty-one days against all the thousands of Coer Singh, fifty-five were native Mohammedans. The large curved knives of the Nepaulese mountaineers left their mark in the thickest ranks of the enemy at the storming of Delhi. Native Princes of pure blood, belonging to the sacred "Brahmin caste," openly espoused the cause of the "Feringhees" (Europeans.)

In fact, the main strength of the insurrection lay in the Sepoys of Oude, a territory which, annexed barely a twelve-month before, was still in an utterly disorganized and turbulent condition. It was by these men that the struggle was first commenced; it was by their hands that the worst atrocities were perpetrated. It was upon them that England let fall the heaviest blows of her vengeance—a vengeance too devastating and too complete not to leave a lasting warning behind it.

It must be remembered, moreover, that this great explosion, premature and ill-considered as it undoubtedly was, was marvellously favored by circumstances up to a certain point. The wilful blindness of the Anglo-Indian Administration gave it a clear field at the outset. It had abundance of arms and ammunition, many strong fortresses, a central position, and several bold and skilful leaders. The Indian railway-system was still in embryo, and the odds against the Europeans, at many points of the great battle-field, were as twenty to one. Yet, with all these advantages, the failure of the attempt was already a foregone conclusion even before the arrival of the reinforcements from England, and a single twelve-month sufficed to break its strength at once and for ever. If it succeeded so ill when all the chances were in its favor, what hope would there be for it now?

Such misapprehensions as these are chiefly due to a wilful forgetfulness of the very simple fact that India is not one nation, but many. In language, habits and temperament, the difference is not a whit wider between Frenchman and Russian, or German and Spaniard, than between Rajpoot and Ghooka, or Sikh and Bengalee. Fully one-fifteenth of the entire population—and that too, by far the most hardy and warlike portion of it—is composed of Mohammedans sprung from the Trans-Himalayan races, and still as distinct from the native Hindoos as in the days of Baber and Hoomayoon. The dislike with which the latter regard them, as the descendants of foreign conquerors, is intensified by the deeper hatred of opposing creeds. The stern Mussulman, whose whole religion is summed up in the one simple formula: "There is but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet," looks down with disdain upon the monstrous polytheism of the Brahmin, or the dreary philosophizing of the Buddhist;—and having had full experience of both races, is much more inclined to side with the Englishman against the Hindoo, than with the Hindoo against the Englishman. The native Christians, too—already a very respectable minority, and constantly on the increase—have little in common with the men whose customs and beliefs are those of four thousand years ago, who prefer starvation to feeding out of the same dish with a European, or killing a man to eating a beef-steak, and in whose mythology there are more gods to be worshipped than there are men to worship them.* In a word, the sole connecting link which binds together this heterogeneous mass of Sikhs, Bengalees, Ghookas, Rajpoots, Parsees and Mahrattas, is their common allegiance to England. That link once broken, the inevitable dissensions which aided Russia to conquer Central Asia, and divided the strength of the mutineers of 1857, would speedily reduce India once more to the chaos that it was after the fall of the Mogul Empire.

Judged, then, by the test of such facts as these, the

*This is no exaggeration. Beside the supreme Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, the Hindoo Pantheon contains *three hundred millions* of lesser deities, all claiming divine rank.

invasion of Afghanistan, must be set down as neither more nor less than a *bonâ fide* war of aggression, which will bring its own punishment with it by creating beyond the Himalaya a second India more difficult to govern than the first. Such an enterprise is the natural sequel of England's annexation of Cyprus eight months ago. The love of territorial aggrandizement, like other depraved tastes, grows by indulgence; and the year 1878, memorable in so many other respects, will hereafter be specially so as that in which Great Britain, for the first time during a century and a quarter, appeared in the character of a conquering Power.*

Such is, indeed, the case. Since the elder Pitt acquired for Britain, in 1762, the French colonies which were wrested from his son twenty-one years later, by the establishment of American independence, no English Premier has achieved or sanctioned any appropriation of foreign territory. The tremendous struggle that ushered in the present century, although the very existence of Britain depended upon it, added not a foot of ground to the British dominions. The Afghan war of 1841, the Crimean war of 1854-5, the Abyssinian war of 1867, the Ashantee war of 1874, were all alike waged, as the French say, "for an idea." But the annexation of Cyprus and the projected seizure of the frontier passes of Afghanistan, are facts which all the sugared falsehoods of diplomacy cannot explain away. After the lapse of 127 years, the reign of aggression and conquest has begun once more, and its great apostle is the man who, forty-five years ago, denounced a Conservative Government as an "organized hypocrisy," and who has lived to make his own Administration a happy union of both.

Were Gibbon still alive, his caustic criticism would find ample food in the fact that nearly all the great states of Europe are either partly or wholly ruled, at the present moment, by men of alien blood. The control of England is divided between a Scotsman and a Jew; that of France between a Jew

*The more recent annexations in Hindoostan cannot be reckoned, being nothing more than a consolidation of the work which had been already done.

and an Irishman. In Russia, two or three Germans are the moving springs of the national policy. The Austrian helm of state is contested by a Slav and a Hungarian, while the councils of Turkey are alternately swayed by a Russian, a Prussian and an Englishman.

But of all these anomalies, striking as they are, the present position of Lord Beaconsfield is the most remarkable. Occasional disagreements between the captain of the ship of state and his crew are natural enough; but in this case the captain appears to have disembarked his crew *en masse*, and to be navigating the ship single-handed at his own sovereign-will and pleasure, with the seemingly complete acquiescence of the crew itself in the whole arrangement.

It is a trite saying, that all undue exaltation is wont to be followed by an equally undue reaction. Prince Metternich, on his death-bed, admitted that the Vienna Congress of 1815, till then regarded as his masterpiece, was a mistake; and it is possible enough that the verdict of posterity may rate Lord Beaconsfield as much too low as his contemporaries are now rating him too high. There are not many voices at the present moment to echo the sweeping criticism of "true Thomas" Carlyle: "He's just a miserable mountebank, who does everything with the rattle of that tongue of his, and has no convictions whatsoever." But it is impossible to avoid recognizing, even in this unflattering likeness a certain sinister resemblance to its original. No one can refuse to Lord Beaconsfield the credit of a quickness, versatility and perseverance, such as few men of our time have possessed; but over his whole career, with all its seeming brilliancy, there hangs that disturbing sense of unreality which marks the enjoyment of a theatrical representation, or a show of conjuring tricks.

In fact, the famous Premier *is* a conjurer in the fullest sense of the word. Every great man who has triumphed by the force of his own genius, is followed by some clever charlatan who, after copying his master successfully for a time, is found wanting as soon as any supreme crisis demands realities instead of semblances. Monk and Lambert did their best to speak like Cromwell; but to act like him was beyond their

power, and they failed accordingly. Mazarin, after amusing France for a time by promising her a repetition of the splendid achievements of Richelieu, saw the war of the Fronde blaze up around him the moment the imposture was unmasked.

So, too, with Lord Beaconsfield and his greatest opponent. Palmerston, having a perfect understanding with the nation which he represented, satisfied its aims in achieving his own. Beaconsfield, pursuing his own ends without any reference to the nation, is fain to cloak this untoward fact with phrases whose seeming manliness commends them to every English ear. Thus the seizure of Cyprus from helpless Turkey becomes "a check upon Russian ambition, and a protection for the oppressed Christians of the East." The invasion of Afghanistan is "a vindication of England's insulted honor." The seizure of the border passes is "a securing of the Indian frontier from attack;" and the English public believes it all, just as it contrived to believe, sixteen years since, that the slave-holding South was fighting against the free North in the cause of "liberty."

But however great may be the material advantages earned for England by her Premier's unscrupulous dexterity, no mere tangible profit can ever compensate the fatal loss of prestige inseparable from this sudden greed of gain on the part of a State so long held to be absolutely disinterested. Twenty-five years ago, the Czar Nicholas' attempt to make England an accomplice in the partition of Turkey, and a sharer in its spoils, was met by a decisive refusal and a strenuous opposition. But what Russia vainly tried to induce England to do in 1853, England, or rather Beaconsfield, has now done spontaneously; and Russia may henceforth answer any strictures upon her own annexations, by pointing significantly to Cyprus and Afghanistan.

ART. III.—MATTER, LIFE AND MIND.*

1. *Constitution de la matière.* Par M. PAPILLON. Paris : 1873.
2. *The Physical Basis of Mind.* By GEORGE HENRY LEWES. London : 1877.
3. *Principles of Mental Physiology.* By WM. B. CARPENTER, M. D., etc. London : 1874.
4. *Psychologie naturelle.* Par PROSPER DESPINE. Paris : 1867.

SCIENCE advances by slow but no uncertain progress to the classification of all phenomena and the demonstration of the order of their procession.† Its domain is not confined to inductions respecting matter and force, the material substances and “properties” of nature; nor to life and its correlative forms; but it includes mind, and the complex phenomena of human beings—social, religious, theological, political—all phenomena that can be classified and arranged into intelligible form and logical coherence. According to this view, everything subject to observation falls within the province of this arch enemy of weak fantasy and shallow sophistry—science.

* THIS article, though complete in itself so far as it goes, is properly a part of the essay that appeared in the NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW for December, 1876, under the title of *The Monism of Man*. The whole essay was published in a connected, though imperfect form in *The Transactions of the Homœopathic Medical Society* of the State of New York, for 1876. We trust the importance of the subject, from a philosophical point of view, renders it unnecessary to apologize for introducing among original articles an essay that has appeared elsewhere, especially as the author of it has been kind enough to rewrite and otherwise adapt it for our pages.—EDITORS.

† Toute science consiste dans la coördination des faits; si les diverses observations étaient entièrement isolées, il n’y aurait pas de science.—*Philosophie positive*, Vol. I, p. 131.

The request of the adherents of antiquated hierarchies, therefore, that science should keep within its proper limits of research and observation, is altogether out of place, since its sphere is boundless; and where science cannot reach there is nothing but sheer emptiness.

It may be further observed that a department of study which was confined, even among the Greeks, to the phenomena of the soul is, in these latter days, being extended to a philosophy of the invisible, everywhere. Whereas, formerly, the term psychology, for example, was used to interpret and signify the attributes and characteristics of the human soul, now its use is not thus restricted; and in this respect, if we mistake not, the modern conception is equal if not superior to the conception of the ancient Greek, even to that of the divine Plato himself. It is come to be no misapplication of the term to say, "natural psychology," "morbid psychology," "medical psychology," "comparative psychology," etc. Since there are two sides to nature, an objective and a subjective side, and two aspects from which to view phenomena, cause and sequence, the one visible, the other necessarily invisible, matter has a psychical as well as a physical aspect, and possesses therefore a psychology of its own. There is, then, a psychology of matter, embracing the principles by which it moves and moulds itself into the countless forms of substance—living, moving, thinking beings. The necessity of bearing always in mind, moreover, the distinction of *subject* and *object*, which is a purely mental one—for the observer's convenience, not nature's,—cannot be too strongly insisted upon. All nature is essentially and always a unit, one and indivisible in fact, and it is a procedure wholly gratuitous to attempt to cut her in twain. The late lamented G. H. Lewes has well said that "the *subject* is inseparable from the *object* in any real sense; is only separate ideally. As the flower which comes into existence through the action of the sun incorporates the energy of the sun, and grows by what it takes from the sun, so the sentient organism incorporates the energy of the external, and reproduces all that produced it." *

* *Problems of Life and Mind*, Vol. I, p. 174.

In respect of the term *Law*, as used to explain and interpret phenomena, we observe that it is highly illusory. To say as does the modern scientist, as does almost everybody, that the universe is under law, is to say that which has no meaning in the absence of an exposition of what law is. It is more than this; it is, in such sense, misleading, for law is not an agent, but a conception, an intellectual summation in respect of the order of things. Mr. Lewes correctly defines law as "the process of phenomena, not an agent apart from them; not an agency determining them but simply the ideal summation of their positions." * The procession of events transcribes the law which underlies them. If this view be correct, the law of any series of events is deducible from their procession. Phenomena, therefore, make their own laws, or afford the mind the elements or data from which to deduce them. If one goes back of this and inquires after the final cause of phenomena, he will be forced to conclude, as does Despine, that it is "*La volonté du Créateur*," † which is simply an all-powerful creative purpose in the constitution of things.

I. Two facts have been recognized in nature from time immemorial which may be regarded as fundamental, viz.: Matter and Force. Excepting the chemical mystics—the Van Helmonts, who sought to transcend the ordinary processes of nature, and to do in physics what the monks professed to do in psychiatry and by a similar prowess—physicists were universally agreed in respect of the nature of one and the agency of the other. Matter has been almost universally regarded as having a fixed, definite, stable constitution, consisting of two fundamental kinds, organic and inorganic; the second, existing under the exclusive dominion of the laws of physics: the first, rising superior to those laws, by virtue of some superposed quality and being controlled, in defiance of them, by the laws of organic life. Chemists applied themselves with commendable industry

* *Ibid.*, p. 283.

† Elle rattache, par la connaissance des lois naturelles, les efforts à leur cause première, la volonté du Créateur qui a fait ces lois. Pour nous, comme pour la plupart de ceux qui les emploient, les expressions: *Nature*, *des lois naturelles*, n'ont pas d'autre signification."—*Psychologie naturelle*, Tome I, p. vi.

to discover and classify the primordial elements, and to find the probable limit of their divisibility. One by one these elements have been discovered, defined, measured, weighed and duly labelled. Each was presumed to possess an atomic constitution of definite shape, size and properties. Experiments with the molecule demonstrated beyond conjecture that it was "endowed" with molecular force. The forces identified with certain forms and states of matter were looked upon as something foreign to it—*properties*—of which matter could be conceived as existing independently. Thus the latter was essentially passive, moving only as moved, subject wholly and passively, like an automaton, to influences from without; having no agency in a world of never-ending work and activity, except to play a prescribed and subsidiary part. Thus were the atoms regarded by those supposed to be most familiar with nature, as not altogether unlike the stage-boys in the play, arranging the scenes and fulfilling such other functions as were necessary to keep up the illusion and perfect the display.

Such a view of the nature and offices of the fundamental atom—of "crude" matter—is prevalent to-day in well-known circles. Thus says Dr. W. B. Carpenter, the physiologist: "The existence of matter is essentially passive. Left to itself it always impresses our consciousness in one and the same mode, and any change in its condition is the result of external agency. What have been termed," he continues, "the active states of matter are really the manifestations of *forces*, of which we can conceive as having an existence independent of matter, and as having no other relation to it than that which consists in their capability of changing its state." * This conception of matter was given to the world by him a score or more of years ago, since which time an enormous stride in physical discovery and philosophical thought has been made. Lest we do the distinguished author injustice, therefore, we cite what he said on the same subject in 1874: "It is now generally admitted," says he, "that we neither know, nor can know, anything of matter, save through the medium of the

* *Principles of Human Physiology*, (third American edition,) p. 541, 1856.

impressions it makes on our senses ; and these impressions are only derived from the forces of which matter is the vehicle.
 * * * * There seems valid ground for the assertion that our notion of matter is a conception of the intellect, force being that externality of which we have the *most* direct—perhaps even the *only* direct—cognizance."

After this brief, lucid interval, however, in which the author seems to comprehend the subject, he lapses into his old "automatic" *habit* of thought, and repeats his former dictum in regard to the passivity of matter in the same terms, only adding: "All its *activities* are manifestations of the *forces* of which it is the vehicle, and to the exercise of which all the phenomena of the material universe are due." * This will suffice. In claiming for himself an ability to conceive the existence of matter dissociated from force, the learned physiologist is happy in the possession of an imagination rare among his coadjutors in physical science.

Gaudin calls to his aid, in constructing organic nature, an all-powerful Creator: "La structure des composés chimiques," he observes, "n'est soumise qu'à la loi mathématique, tandis que, dans la matière organisée, la loi mathématique a été éludée. Dans les germes et dans leurs produits, il existe un manque de symétrie dans l'axe qui dénote une intention formelle, ou pour mieux dire, une toute-puissance Créatrice." † We fail to see, however, wherein the agency of an all-powerful Creator is more manifest in organic than in mathematical or inorganic forms of matter. The skill displayed in the growth of a flower may be of a higher order to that displayed in the crystal; but each is perfect in its way, and discloses the hand of the same Master—albeit one is simple while the other is complex. The mathematical power or faculty is not inferior in grade to that of drawing and designing. As the mathematician takes high rank in the scale of mentality, it is surely illogical to underrate His status as regards the stratification of the rocks and the architecture of the earth and heavens. But let us proceed.

* *Principles of Mental Physiology*, p. 11, 1874.

† *Architecture du Monde des Atomes*, p. 3.

No student of physics was bold enough, prior to the invention of the spectroscope, to challenge the absolute correctness of such views of matter as we have here presented, or to doubt the exhaustive nature of the means and methods used and pursued in their demonstration. Nor were they regarded as materialistic. Dissenting views were by no means wanting—but they were those of the inspired poets and divinely mad men, whose authority on such subjects was naturally of small value. Thus, Goethe, in *Faust*, not inaptly describes matter as the visible garment of the Infinite:

"'Tis thus at the roaring loom of time I ply,*
And weave for God the garment thou seest Him by."

Suffice it to say, in passing, that these very crude and simple interpretations of physicists of the elements of nature, are by many regarded with dissatisfaction, if not with dissent. They have measurably ceased to command the assent of their former advocates and promulgators—the physicists. Indeed, the most eminent of these stand in reverent awe, more truly spiritualistic than the spiritualists, in the presence of the strange phenomena exhibited by the molecule, freely acknowledging that the nature of the molecule is inexplicable; that the mystery which enshrouds its constitution is as impenetrable as that of "spirit" itself. The activities of the molecule—of "gross" matter—are in fact as incomprehensible as fear, love, hope or hate. Nor are they less spiritual or more material than those of any of the emotions. The geometric forms of the molecule; its strong preference for, or dislike of, certain other molecules; its attractions and repulsions; its strange transformations and metamorphoses under the influence of light and heat, are all impressive mysteries which transcend finite comprehension and bewilder the reflective observer. The modern prince of materialists is justly confounded by them, declaring that, in his opinion, that which the builder in physical philosophy rejected has become the corner stone of the structure; that, in other, and less

*The following is the original of the passage:

"So schaff' ich am sausenden Websstuhl der Zeist,
Und wiche de Gottheit lebendes Klieid."

metaphoric terms, matter—the inert, hard, impenetrable atom of the former physicists—“possesses the promise and potency of every form of life.”* And another *savant* and *littérateur*, whom no one has ever accused of orthodoxy, declares that “matter ceases to be an alien, ceases to have the dead, unspiritual character, when we learn that everything we can possibly know of it is one of the many modes of feeling. All our knowledge of it is the knowledge of our own affection.”†

To one who has broken away from the old idea of matter and force, which conceived of life and matter as being in open warfare, and has come to view nature as a series of harmonies, ascending without hindrance to one grand consummation, matter appears altogether in a new light,—impresses one with altogether different meanings. The supposititious conflict merges into one of harmonious coöperation; it ceases even to be a “conception of the intellect.” Thus, says Mayer, matter is “tout ce qui peut être converti en mouvement.” And the lamented M. Papillon’s idea of it, while even more comprehensive than Mayer’s, has the still greater advantage, in our view, of being scientifically exact. He writes: “La matière est donc tout à la fois forme et force, c’est-à-dire qu’il n’y a pas de différence essentielle entre ces deux modes de la substance. La forme n’est que de la force circonscrite, condensée; la force n’est que de la forme indéfinie, diffuse.”‡

But we cannot linger among the atoms. Hurrying across the mythical chasm which separates the visible from the invisible in nature, and entering the domain of that other mystery in nature, the force-world, we find views equally vague, uncertain and conflicting, respecting the nature of life and its correlative, mind. They to whom the world has looked with confidence for an authoritative interpretation of that which is apparently the most familiar object in nature—life—

* Professor Tyndall’s *Address before the British Association at Belfast*, 1873.

† Lewes’ essay on *Spiritualism and Materialism*.—*Fortnightly Review*, April, 1876.

‡ *La constitution de la nature*.—*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Tome, CV, p. 698.

are found to disagree *vitally*. It is true that some of the French, German and English savants, notably Cuvier, Magendie and Bichat, advanced doctrines respecting the nature of life which subsequent demonstrations in physical science, while proving them to be erroneous in fact, have shown to be in the direction of truth. It is needless to say, however, that their doctrines were but rarely entertained by physiologists; the drift of physiological sentiment being to exalt all forces into entities, separate and distinct from forms of matter in connection with which only they are observed. The attempt to identify life and mind with matter, other than as an *agent* of organization was, until quite recently, within the memory of this generation, looked upon as a heresy of a forbidding sort, and produced no little discord and ill-feeling in the ranks of physiologists themselves. One class was designated chemico-physiologists; the other, vital-physiologists. Much "vital" energy has been spent by each party in support of its favorite doctrine with results favorable to both, we believe; since between them the truth, which must have otherwise remained unknown, has been approximated.

Those who look upon matter as not living, as something altogether passive in the construction of the world, found it necessary to *invent* a principle of motion and energy to account for those changes in organic matter which were daily occurring before their eyes. It did not occur to them to question the truth respecting the assumption of *dead* matter or the divisibility of matter and force. Either proposition was a fact supported by the direct evidence of the senses, which it were idle in their view to impugn, though psychical studies have shown that nothing is more misleading than evidence derived from such a source. It was easier to satisfy the logical mind, and reconcile seeming fact with nature, by assuming the existence of a living force in temporary occupancy of organic matter, a something superposed upon the original elements, and using the latter as its instruments. This principle was variously named by the metaphysicians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, "vitality," "animal spirits," "soul," etc. Stahl, of the seventeenth century, boldly declared that the principle of

organization was no other than the soul. "The body as body has no power to move," said he, "it must always be put in motion by an immaterial principle. All movement is immaterial and a spiritual act."* Dr. Erasmus Darwin, the grandfather of Charles Darwin, the eminent naturalist, in his *Zoonomia*, maintains a similar doctrine: "The whole of nature," he writes, "may be supposed to consist of two species or substances; one of which may be termed spirit, the other matter. The former of these possesses the power to commence or produce motion, and the latter to receive or communicate it; so that motion considered as a cause immediately precedes every effect, and considered as an effect it immediately succeeds every cause."† Dr. Whytt, a medical author of some note of the last century, advanced similar doctrines respecting the cause of living actions; but the *spirit*, in his view, operated "by the intervention of something in the brain and nerves." This mysterious "something" was, at a later day, supposed to be "animal spirits." And many eminent medical men, as Barry, Mead, Fleming, and others, went so far as to describe the precise nature and composition of that peculiar substance. Thus: "The nervous fluid, or animal spirits," says Fleming, "consists of phlegm, or water, oil, animal salt and earth; are highly attenuated and subtilized, and intimately mixed and incorporated together."‡ The strange doctrine of *animal spirits*, as the physical basis of life, was long since abandoned; while its notable synonym and coadjutor, the *nervous fluid*, is still retained by many as a convenient and practicable medium of communication between body and mind.

Cullen's idea of life did not differ essentially from this. He looked upon it as something analagous to electricity, when that force was almost universally regarded as a *fluid*; existing, like electricity, in a state of latency in some bodies, and capable, like it, of being *excited* into activity by appropriate stimuli. "So, in our medullary fibre," he observes, "there is a fluid which was present in the germ, but was not excited; and it is in the excited state of this, that I suppose

* *Théorie Médicale*. Cited from *History and Heroes of Medicine*, p. 280.

† *Zoonomia*, Vol. I, sec. 1, p. 5.

‡ *Flemings Nervous Fluid*, p. 24.

life to consist; and when it is no longer excited in any degree, we call it the state of death."*

Such an hypothesis upon such a subject, put forth by a man of such acknowledged learning and ability as Cullen, gives one some idea of the immense stride rational philosophy has taken within the present century. Dr. Russell of England quotes this observation of Cullen with an air of approval, and remarks that "life consists, according to this view, of a force generated in the nervous system diffused through the animal frame, just as electricity pervades inorganic bodies; the quantity of this vital force varies according to certain conditions, and the knowledge of those conditions will enable us to explain, as well as to obviate, morbid action."† Perhaps so; and yet how, upon this hypothesis of vitality, one is enabled to differentiate the life-force of a vegetable, or to distinguish it from that of an animal, or from that of different animals, or to conceive the necessity of any one's dying when electricity is so plentiful and easily obtainable, are problems by no means easy to solve. It is still more noteworthy, however, that the author adheres to the hypothesis of *vitality*, seemingly oblivious of the fact that the discovery of his countryman, Prof. Grove, of the correlation of the physical forces, has already rendered that hypothesis altogether untenable,—placed it on the retired list among the curiosities of medical theories.

We have already alluded to M. Cuvier and others of the French school of the present century, as promulgating views of the nature of life in advance of their contemporaries. That eminent naturalist recorded his conception of the life-force as follows: "Dans chaque être, la vie est un ensemble qui résulte de l'action et de la réaction mutuelle de toutes ses parties."‡ Bichat's, the equally eminent physiologist, definition, although that of M. Cuvier must have been known to him, is less lucid: "La vie est l'ensemble des fonctions qui résiste à la mort."§

* *Physiology and Nosology*, Vol. I, p. 131.

† *History and Heroes of Medicine*, p. 328.

‡ *La règne animal*, Tome I^{er}, p. 16.

§ *Recherches physiologiques sur la vie et la mort*, Art. I^{er}.

Lawrence, an English physiologist of good repute, and a contemporary of Bichat, defined life as follows: "Life is the assemblage of all the functions (or purposes) and the general result of their exercise."* A literal translation of that of Bichat would have been better, though both definitions are obviously defective.

Coming down to more recent times, we find Dr. Whewell formulating his definition on the subject: "Life is the system of vital functions."† Had he said the vital function is life, the observation would have been equally exact. More recently still, Mr. Herbert Spencer has declared that "life is the continual adjustment of internal relations to external relations,"‡—a definition hardly in keeping with its author's usually clear insight. The adjustment and maintenance of harmony throughout organic nature is doubtless due to the agency of the life-force and its correlations. It is a manifest error, however, to suppose that the maintenance of that harmony is life; it is rather the *effect* of life. A juster doctrine is that maintained by M. de Candolle, a French savant and writer, who declares that "Life is the transformation of physical or chemical motion into plastic or nervous motion."§ This definition, however, is not wholly consistent with the facts of nature and scientific induction. Life is manifested in the vegetable kingdom, and also in animal forms too low in the scale of organizations to possess even the rudiments of a nerve-cell, much less of a nervous system. Hence, it is obviously impossible that such forms of matter should be able to transform physical forces into nervous force. They are wanting in the necessary apparatus. And yet they manifest what is called *life*, viz.: the organic agency. The definition of M. de Candolle would hold good in respect of the nature of mind; it is too broad and sweeping for that of life. We would limit it thus: Life is the correlation of physical force into organic force. Life is a sequence of organization, or, at most, coincident with it. Mr. Lewes expresses the relation thus: "Life is not an entity

* *Comparative Anatomy and Physiology*, p. 129.

† *History of scientific Ideas*, Vol. II, p. 98.

‡ *Principles of Psychology*.

§ *Histoire des sciences*, p. 457.

but an abstraction, expressing the generalities of organic phenomena." And again, "Mind is only one of the forces of life." *

The phenomena of life are known only in connection with certain *states* of matter. Nor can the forces which the phenomena of life represent be conceived as existing independent of those states or without their agency. The doctrine enunciated by Dr. Brown-Séquard, that each tissue in the animal economy correlates life-force peculiar to itself, † is a legitimate outcome of the discovery, or rather demonstration, of Prof. Grove, that all the physical forces are mutually convertible—a demonstration which marks an era, not only in so-called physical philosophy, but in psychological philosophy also.

In respect of the nature of mind our logic has already betrayed the conclusions to which every rational man must come who accepts the premises. The tendency of physical discovery is to break down the time-honored distinction between matter and spirit, and to end the short-sighted and ill-natured controversy between truth-loving men, respecting the relative merits or demerits of materialism and spiritualism, by confusing the meaning of their respective terms. Since matter and force are essentially one and the same, the one made visible and each made mutually known by the other; and since, also, the same remark may be as truly affirmed of life and certain states of matter, so likewise one may assert with equal propriety, and on grounds equally tenable, the essential identity of mind and matter—or mind and brain, which is the same thing; in the same manner, and no less so, than is the molecule and affinity one and indivisible. According to this view the lower nerve-tissue transforms chemical force into motion and sensation; the higher nerve-tissue, the grey substance of the cerebrum—and we believe that of the spinal marrow also—transforms the same material energy into thought and feeling. Dr. Brown-Séquard in the lecture on the nerve-force, to which we have already referred, maintains that the transformation of nerve-

* *Problems of Life and Mind*, Vol. I, p. 106.

† *Vide his Lecture on the Nerve-Force*, Boston, Mass., February 25, 1874.

force into motor-force takes place at every moment of our lives. Had he said that the chemical elements were transformed, or metamorphosed, into nerve-tissue "every moment of our lives" his auditors would have been less skeptical of the statement, but its meaning and significance would have been substantially the same; for that, also, is what "takes place every moment of our lives." Every act, no less every thought, is attended with consentaneous changes in the nerve-substance; and it is idle to speculate on the question which precedes and which follows, for one is essential to the existence of the other. Dr. Brown-Séquard believes that light can be correlated directly into nerve-force, though "it is not distinctly proven yet." The proposition is highly probable. Indeed, there is no rational doubt but that the two forces are mutually convertible; and it is the absence of this doubt in the mind of an eminent astronomer, that leads him to affirm in such positive terms that "every form of force upon the earth, every action that we perform, all the forms of force we know of, even the thoughts we think, may be said to come from the sun."* And yet, the elementary constitution of the sun, if the revelations of the spectroscopic are to be received, differs in no wise from that of the earth, except that its atoms are in a state of incandescence.

M. Papillon, in the fine essay on *La constitution de la matière*, from which we have before quoted, has given a definition of mind so entirely consonant with the present attitude of scientific thought on the subject, that we give it in his own language: "La pensée humaine est le résumé de toutes les énergies de la nature, puisqu'elle les assimile toutes, en les distinguant, par le travail qu'elle opère sur les sensations."† And elsewhere in the same essay, the writer elaborates the idea and applies it to the interpretation of the phenomena of organic life. We give place to a brief paragraph:

"Une première vue du monde exclusivement analytique, nous a conduit à une première et indéniable certitude, l'existence d'un principe d'énergie et de mouvement. Une seconde vue de l'univers, exclusivement synthétique, nous conduit, comme on vient de la voir, à une seconde certitude qui est l'existence d'un

* R. A. Proctor, *Lecture on the Sun*, New York, Jan. 8, 1874.

† *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Tome CV., p. 705.

principe de différentiation et d'harmonie. Ce principe, c'est ce qu'on appelle l'esprit. Aussi l'esprit n'est pas la substance, mais il est la loi de la substance. Il n'est pas force, mais il est le révélateur de la force. Il n'est pas la vie, mais fait valoir la vie. Il n'est pas la pensée, mais il est la conscience de la pensée."*

This young writer had evidently little faith in the absolute verities of chemical science, and even doubted the competency of that science to deal exhaustively with the elements with which it is most familiar. "Quand on voit," writes he, "les mêmes élémens unis dans les mêmes proportions de poids, donner lieu tantôt à des matières innocentes, tantôt à des poisons terribles, engendrer dans un cas des produits incolores ou pâles, dans l'autre des couleurs brillantes, on acquiert la conviction que l'étoffe primordiale est peu de chose à côté de la puissance du tisserand qui en arrange les fils, et qui sait d'avance quelle sera la physionomie de la trame."*

In matter have we, therefore, the foundation of a true psychology, paradoxical as the statement seems. In the study of chemistry and physiology, of pathogeneses and chylo-metamorphoses, but one side of nature is discovered; the other, and most important side, is skilfully concealed from the sensuous observer, by terms which express facts without uncovering their significance; such, for example, as chrySTALLIZATION, affinity, catalysis, or "the action of presence;" co-ordination, reflex action, habit, automata, and that famous hobby of Dr. Carpenter—"unconscious cerebration"—on which so many physiologists have ridden into notoriety; terms well enough in themselves, and which mean a great deal, or nothing, according to the mental training of the observer. To him who can discern the other side of nature, the terms are pregnant with profound meaning. Law becomes the will of Omnipotence, directing and controlling the course of phenomena. He is conducted by the phenomena of nature into the realm of an awful mystery; into the very ways and thoughts of the Infinite. Crude nature becomes to him one vast laboratory, in which concealed but cunning hands work the divinest miracles. Every molecule goes to its appointed

* *Revue des Deux Mondes*, p. 706.

† *Ibid*, Tome V, p. 702.

place and fills its allotted sphere as by Supreme direction. The little atoms lose, for the time being, those "properties" of which many observers have boasted that they could conceive "as having an existence independent of matter;" and appear, when incandescent, like mathematical points, as they really are, all aglow with celestial flame. Even the hard, impenetrable solids glimmer with crystal light. One feels even in the presence of the phenomena of the laboratory like uncovering and taking off one's shoes. The crudest elements of earth, in the presence of their affinities, seem radiant with life and animate with purpose. In view of these things it is no wonder that he who lived and worked so long in the chemical laboratory, in the very presence of the majesty of molecular mysteries, should have grown learned and reverent as he grew old, without the aid of the schools, religious symbols, or the sacred pen-works of antiquity. He, Michael Faraday, to whom we refer, with his crucible and re-agents, chemical and electrical apparatus, lived and communed with the divine daily, and on terms of greater intimacy than did Enoch of old, or Moses in the light of the burning bush amid the thunders and lightnings of cloud-capped Sinai.

II. The unity of matter and force implies the unity of body and soul. And it is interesting to observe that while physiologists are agreed as to the unity of the physical being—the purely animal existence—they are divided as to the unity of the corporal and mental life. Hence, the distinction that has been drawn, and continues to be maintained, between man physical and man psychical. The objection we urge against the doctrine of duality of inorganic matter is equally valid in respect of organic matter. As it has taken centuries of hard, earnest work among the atoms to unite them with force, so it seems not unlikely to take as many more centuries to unite into one indivisibility the body and soul of man.

With no intention of reflecting unfavorably on the labors of physiologists, to whom civilization is so much indebted, the method pursued by them in the prosecution of their physiological researches has seemed to obscure the identity of

the being whom it was their object to discover and investigate. On the revival of dissection it is noteworthy how curious were the physiologists to discover the seat of that of which the monks held a tradition as existing somewhere in the human body—the soul. For many generations, indeed, the residence of the soul was an object of profound search; and no less a philosopher than the celebrated French metaphysician, Descartes, finally gave it a place in that little body situate in the proximate centre of the brain, and afterwards known as the pineal gland.

It would not be paying sufficient respect to the genius of Descartes, however, to call his conclusion on so weighty a matter absurd; for philosophers greater than he had committed equally grave blunders on that subject long before him. The divine Plato, who probably never saw the inside of a human body, gave the soul a residence in the head. But then he divided it into a trinity of parts, or elements, which he called the Same, the Other and an indefinable Something different from either, but which was the product of both; very much, we should think, as a chemical compound is formed through the laws of chemical affinity. First, there is the alkali, then the acid, and in the chemical union of these two is produced a third substance, with properties unlike either of the others—viz.: a *salt*. Democritus, also, gave the soul a place in the head—in the whole head. Strabo located it in the forehead, between the eyebrows; Erasistratus, in the epicranis, or membranes of the brain; Parmenides placed it in the breast; as did, likewise, Epicurus, the materialist. Diogenes was more definite, believing that the soul of man occupied the left ventricle of the heart. Empedocles, the celebrated Greek astronomer, thought it permeated the blood. Pythagoras divided the soul into two parts, animal and intellectual, somewhat analogous to the conscious and unconscious life, the brain and sympathetic system, of modern physiologists. Nor was that philosopher far astray in placing one part, the intellectual, in the head; the other part, the animal soul, in the heart. The stoic philosophers, according to Plutarch, very generally gave the soul a place in the heart, and

ascribed to it the general character of "hot breath." * Modern theology, which is clearly of Greek origin, confounds the soul with the mind, but distributes it impartially between the head and heart.

It would be, on the other hand, no difficult task to cite from the writings of the ancients, as well as from those of modern times, very different, and to us, far more rational ideas in respect of the seat and nature of the soul of man. The Grecian sage, Thales, taught the existence of a soul which permeated the whole human body, the latter being only its visibility and instrument, so to speak. He likewise invested the universe with a soul of a certain sort, which was its moving and governing power. This soul was no other than the ever-living, moving, acting Presence—God. Timæus, too, entertained a similar idea of a human soul, and gave to it "power to be mistress and governess of her inferior servant," † the body. And Plutarch's opinion was not altogether dissimilar. "The substance of the body," he declared, "is no other than the all-receiving nature, the seat and nurse of all created things." ‡

No subject interested the Greek mind so deeply as man, his nature and destiny; nor was there any subject on which they discoursed so profoundly, or in which they showed so deep an insight. § And, perhaps, we have no evidence more conclusive, in support of this fact, on the rationalistic side, than that to be found in the writings of the father of philosophy himself, viz.: Aristotle. That extraordinary thinker has given mankind a rational solution of the occult phenomena of all forms of being. In fact, we owe the term psychology to his analytical and versatile genius. The term *ψυχή* (Psyche), for which we believe there is no proper synonym in any language of modern times, was used by this master of thought to denote that principle in organic matter analogous to what the modern physiologist designates life and soul, both.

* *Vide* Plutarch's *Morals*. Vol. III, pp. 163, 164.

† Plutarch's *Morals*. Vol. II, p. 335.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

§ *Vide* Plutarch's discourse on *The Procreation of the Soul*, in which the views of many of the philosophers of ancient Greece are given at considerable length, notably those of Plato. *Morals*, Vol. II, p. 326, *et seq.*

Taken in connection with the human body and brain, it denoted its animating, controlling principle. "Psyche," he writes,* "is to the body as form is to matter, as the impression is to the wax, as sight is to the eye. * * * It is the efficient, the final and the formal cause of the body. * * * This *ψυχή*, therefore, is inseparable from the body, at all events, [from] some of its parts, if it be divisible. Nothing, however, hinders, that some of its parts may be separable from the body, as not being actualities of the body at all." Just as one can conceive the human body may be divided by the loss of an arm, of a leg, or, perhaps, of all the extremities, without destroying the essential and indispensable parts, on the ensemble of which depends the individuality. Moreover, Aristotle regarded all psychical phenomena as coming within the scope of physical science, since they were inseparable from matter and the form and substance of animated things.

With the lapse of Greek civilization, interest in the subject from the rationalistic point of view declined, and remained dormant during the Middle Ages, to be again revived with the revival of letters, and the consequent growth of a spirit of mental independence. In more modern times the Germans appear to have led the world in that direction; breaking away from the bonds of tradition with more facility than the rest of mankind, and striking out for themselves fearless and independent courses of thought and inquiry. Thus that German mystic, Novalis, of the eighteenth century, identified the soul and body as substantially one and the same. "There is," says he, "but one temple in the world, and that is the body of man. Nothing is holier than this high form. Bending before men is a reverence done to this revelation in

*Vide Sir A. Grant's Aristotle. *De Animâ*, p. 236. Grote's interpretation of Aristotle's *De Animâ*, is to the same effect. We add a brief citation:

"In regard to soul generally, the relative point of view, with body as the correlate, is constantly insisted on by Aristotle; without such correlate his assertions would have no meaning. But the relation between them is presented in several different ways. The soul is the cause and principle of a living body; by which is meant, not an independent and pre-existent something that brings the body into existence, but an immanent or in-dwelling influence which sustains the unity and guides the functions of the organization."—Vol. II, p. 190.

the flesh. We touch heaven when we lay our hands on a human body."* The habit of viewing the body as the fount of everything vile and vicious had not been nearly outgrown in Novalis' time; and one can well understand how natural it was for zealous Christians to characterize this remarkable man and poet as "crack-brained," or an "enthusiast." His unfailing amiability and sweet, poetic life, alone saved him from becoming the victim of a worse fate than that of being branded with opprobrious epithets.

It is interesting to note in this connection that He who embodied in his earth-life the fullest spiritualistic conception of existence, was himself no spiritualist in the modern acceptation of that term. He nowhere idealized a soul apart from the body. And in his death and alleged resurrection, body and soul, the form and substance of being, continued inseparable. "Everything to him resulted in a palpable realization." "He was," as Renan observes, "a perfect idealist; the material to him being only the sign of the idea; and the real, the living expression of that which does not appear."†

The eminent Strauss, philosopher and theologian, but who was, as every man ought to be who is either, a philosopher first and a theologian afterwards, expressed his views on this subject in a more prosaic, but less comprehensive manner:

"Many of the difficulties environing the problem of thought and feeling," he writes, "entirely proceed from this assumption of a psychical essence distinct from the corporal organs. How, from an extended non-thinking thing, such as the human body, impressions can be conveyed to a non-extended thinking thing, such as the soul is supposed to be; how impulses are retransmitted from the second to the first; this no philosophy has yet explained, and none ever will. The matter must," he continues, "in any case, be much more intelligible, if we have only to do with one and the same being, of which in one respect extension is predicable, in another thought. Of course we shall be told such a being is not possible. We reply, it exists; we, ourselves, are all such beings:"‡

Returning to the poets, and retracing the lines of our evi-

* *Vide* Carlyle's *Miscellanies*. Vol. II, p. 292. Art. *Novalis*.

† *Life of Jesus*, p. 141. (English tr.)

‡ *The Old Faith and the New*, Vol. II, p. 17. (English tr.)

dence two hundred years or more, back to the time of Milton, we find that great poet and thinker recording his convictions concerning the relation of body and soul in language in entire accord with that of Strauss, above cited:

"That man is a living being," he writes, "intrinsically and properly one and individual, not compound and separable, not, according to the common opinion, made up and framed of two distinct and different natures, as of soul and body, but the whole man is soul and the soul man; that is to say, a body, or substance, individual, animated, sensitive and rational."

And elsewhere, but in the same connection, he combats the notion,—for it was never anything but a notion,—that the sacred writings anywhere sanction a different view of the constitution of man's corporal being.

"That the spirit of man," he says, "should be separate from the body, so as to have a perfect and intelligent existence independently of it, is nowhere said in Scripture, and the doctrine is evidently at variance both with nature and reason, as will be shown more fully hereafter." *

He then proceeds to support his assertion by citations from the Old Testament—the authority of which on such a subject would, in our view, add nothing to the weight of his own.

The comprehensive conception of that great master of thought and speech on this subject, Goethe, is well known. We have already cited (*ut supra*) two lines from *Faust*, which show unmistakably that he was in perfect accord with Milton. Goethe frequently expressed the idea of the visible being but the externality of the invisible; the form being but the garment of the spirit, etc. So, likewise, Carlyle, in his mystical prose poem, *Sartor Resartus*, elaborates the same thought, making Teufelsdröckh, the eminent Clothes Philosopher, enunciate doctrines of human nature the most transcendental. To him the form was the spirit manifest; flesh its visible garment or embodiment; man, a living soul, one and indivisible. In Carlyle's view Nature and God are one and the same existence, conformable to doctrines very ancient and which are by no means obsolete in modern thought. Thus in

* Milton's *Prose Works*, Vol. IV, pp. 188, 189. Bohn's Edition, London, 1853.

Sartor Resartus, in the chapter on *Natural and Supernaturalism*, he writes: " * * * Through every star, through every grass-blade, and most through every living soul, the glory of an ever-present God still beams." (p. 183.) "Nature the time-restorer of God." (*Id.*) "These limbs, * * * this stormy Force, this life-blood, with its burning passion! They are dust and shadow, a shadowy system gathered round our ME; wherein, through some moments of years the Divine Essence is to be revealed in the flesh; * * * Generation after generation takes to itself the form of a body."

"Son of God," "Son of Heaven," "Emanuel," meaning "God with us," are words and phrases of very old date to express the stature of a being above the average—a man whose cerebral convolutions had grown to the capacity of comprehending the higher relation of things. The Greeks and Romans had numerous gods in human form, of that order, living, moving, human beings, all worthy of being regarded as "Oracles of God,"—Alexander, Caesar, Socrates, Plato, etc. The latter personage is very commonly spoken of by the Greek writers as divine. So also was Alexander. Novalis too, conveys to us the same idea when he declares that "Man is the higher sense of our planet;" "Man is a sun," etc. Carlyle, then, is by no means alone in the conviction that "the highest God dwells invisible in that mystic, unfathomable visibility, which calls itself 'I' on the earth."*

In citing these views and reflections of the poets and philosophers of ancient and modern times, in confirmation and support of transcendental views of nature, we are not unmindful of the fact that the intuitions of that class of minds will not be received as conclusive evidence, perhaps not as evidence at all, by a physiologist. Nor do we give them prominence with that object. Nevertheless, that such evidence should be left out of the count altogether by physiologists in forming their conclusions, is the worst that can be brought against them. This domain of thought is one in which the induction of the physiologist is secondary. The problem is transcendental; embracing the other side of a *surface*, so

* *Past and Present*, p. 155.

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to say, of which psychologists are the more competent to speak. To those who believe in the authority of Revelation as supreme in matters that pertain to the invisible and eternal, the unconscious presence of other personalities; in a universe, in brief, full of transcendent mystery; to those, we say, who realize somewhat these grandeurs, it will be sufficient to say, in the inspired language of Novalis: "Whoso speaks truly is full of eternal life; and wonderfully related to genuine mysteries does his writing appear to us, for it is a concord from the symphony of the universe." The honest declarations of divine men *are* divine revelations. The highest in them instinctively recognizes its affiliations with the divine,—the supreme excellence;—and their words are as the "inspiration of the Almighty."

"Vitality and sensibility, life and consciousness, are abstractions having real concretes. They are compendious expressions of functional processes conceived in their totality, and not at any single stage." * So writes the late George Henry Lewes; and no one ought to realize the force of that view with greater distinctness than the observant physiologist. The teaching of physiology, so far as it is able to teach at all, on this subject—and it can teach by analogy a great deal—is not at variance with the transcendental doctrines of the poet-philosophers whom we have cited. The difficulty with which one has to deal on the physiological side of nature lies altogether in interpretation. Its professors and writers very properly confine themselves to phenomena, and induction based thereon, appealing to the evidences of the lower senses, touch, taste, sight, etc. And he who would arrive at the real, beyond and above the apparent meaning, must be able to "read between the lines;" or, in other words, to transpose liberally the relation of cause and effect as ordinarily taught; to look beyond the visible and sensible to that which is invisible and supersensible.

One who stands between the extremes of philosophic thought on this subject, cannot but sympathize with all these views of life, mind and soul, to which we have adverted,

* *Problems of Life and Mind*, Vol. I, p. 102.

incongruous and conflicting as many of them are. He sees in each one's view what the observer saw from his point of view. Had their mental vision been clearer; had their position been illuminated with clearer light in a more favorable atmosphere, they had possibly seen the real truth. Boil these diverse and contradictory views all down together, and who knows but the pure truth shall be found in the residuum? As for us, we believe in the "archeus" of Van Helmont, and the "spirits" of Stahl; the "animal spirits" of Fleming, and the "nervous fluid" of Whytt and Cullen. "Archeus" is generated in the marrow and worked off in automata, directing this hand how to write and what, is it not? The red fluid that courses in one's veins, is it not "animal spirits"? If it could be perpetually supplied to one it would give one perpetual life. Macerate the nerves and ganglia, or put them under hard pressure, and what do they yield, if not "nervous fluid?" The very essence and pulp of body and soul, life and mind could thus be collected into one retort for the delectation of those who have a curiosity to handle, weigh and measure abstractions! The flesh and blood, brain and bones of a man, are the man himself, are they not? Reduce these several tissues to atoms and what becomes of the man? Can any one doubt that his externality—his *veritatum*, as Carlyle would say—is destroyed in the process? or that, if consciousness still remain with him, it must be through metamorphoses of substance and of being of which one's ordinary senses can take no cognizance? But it is idle to push one's inquiries in a direction whence come only echoes in response.

Finally, we observe that, a human being is so thoroughly human in every fibre and cell—nay *atom*—of his body, that each is characteristic of him. Every atom is full of him—say, rather, that every atom is an atom of his being, soul and substance, archeus and form, the invisible in the visible, and all in one, and the divine in all. Such an idea is unintelligible, says one. It is surely a mystery, but not more unintelligible than the atom, or its combinations. What is a mystery if substance be not one? or form, or force, or thought? Does not the whole contain the part—the Infinite the finite?

the immortal the mortal? The difficulty that environs this subject is not so much in its exceeding complexity as in man's dimness of vision, and the habit he has formed of dispensing with the use of his higher sense—the sixth sense—perception. He has been taught by precept and example to bring every fact in nature to the test of the lower senses, and to relegate to faith, blind and unreasoning, what, in his view, could not be so reduced. He has thus become materialistic in his habits of thought and mode of feeling and being. Even the devoutest Christian has reduced the ideal heaven of Jesus to an immense Empire, whose capital glows with splendors modeled after those of the ancient City! And if he cannot give it local habitation in space and time, it is because his telescope is not long enough to find a place for it in the limitless spaces beyond the confines of the stars and suns of other solar systems. This materialism, so rank and repulsive when carried out to its logical sequences, is a legitimate result of attempting “to prove all things” before a court of incompetent jurisdiction—those five senses, sight, taste, touch, olfactory and auditory, we mean, which are possessed in greater or less perfection by every species of animal in the class to which man himself belongs, and of which he is chief. Is not the fallacy of such a procedure self-evident?

But it may be objected that this view of the relation of matter and force is opposed to the doctrine of immortality. And it must be admitted that the objection is well taken, if by immortality is understood to be the sensible rehabilitation of an individual once dead, or the rehabilitation of the individual organism after death, in any sense of which one can possibly comprehend. The evidence of the senses on this subject are entitled to respect in so far as this plane of being is concerned. The grave is truly a bourne whence no traveller ever returns. Our senses may properly dogmatize in respect of the fate of the bodily organization, as well as of that of any organic or inorganic form whatsoever. The process of living is one of de-organization, if we may be allowed to use such a term, and re-organization; and when this double process ceases and de-organization alone bears sway, the form

begins to vanish and is finally broken up into its elementary constituents, and with it—for ought we know—the psychical powers which were identified with it and contingent upon it. But while this fact is demonstrable on the objective or scientific side of nature, it by no means follows that de-organization of organic forms ends all. Such a conclusion is not justifiable except by assuming that our powers of observation are infinite, and therefore capable of taking in the whole range of cosmic phenomena. But, it is needless to observe, our powers of observation are finite. There may be forms of matter, and, therefore, modes of being, of which we know nothing, and which could only become sensible to us by an augmentation of our sensibilities. It is certain that the more one comprehends of the divine order of things the less one is disposed to dogmatize against the possible in the realm of life and being. To the awakened sensibilities the known gives promise of the unknown, the present of the future. Such a one is instinctively led by them to look forward—as with the eye of faith—to a new and superior order of things in the “unseen world above;” to a “New Jerusalem,” on which the prophets of every age have rested their hopes and aspirations and sacrificed the pleasures of this life for the glories of that to come. Many persons who are strongly imbued with the scientific spirit and enamoured of its method of dealing with natural phenomena find nothing unreasonable in this view. Thus writes Herr Strauss: “If it be a cosmic law that impeded motion is transformed to heat, and heat again begotten by motion—that, in fact, the force of nature as soon as it has disappeared in one form, reappears in another—the possibility surely here dawns upon us that in the retardation of cosmic motion nature may possess the means of summoning new life out of death.” *

Again, it may be objected that this view of the constitution of matter is inconsistent with the existence of a Supreme Being and an order of things predicated on His will. But the objection in this instance, as in the other, is valid only against those crude ideas of God which have taken on form and

* *The Old Faith and the New*, Vol. II, p. 181.

been embodied in dogmatic theology. One should reason on this subject—and on all subjects—from what one knows, reverently trusting in the wisdom of the end to which one's lines of logic and discovered truth lead. If a Supreme Being exists at all, it is on the *subjective* side of nature, beyond the reach of finite faculties, as we have observed. In respect of such a realm of observation, we remark that man, with all his aids of research and discovery, is little better prepared to speak authoritatively than were his primeval and benighted ancestors. It is true the noblest of his race believe in the existence of such a realm of Being. They feel a divine power within and over them, impelling them onward and upward. They may be more conscious than the lower "ape-like creatures" of a Supremacy against which it is idle to contend, and more fully realize the counter-currents which complicate human life in that limitless ocean of influences on which we are drifting. They may be able to "reason together" concerning the nature of the Supreme Excellence; to demonstrate that He is *not* of this or that form; that He does *not* inhabit exclusively the solar spaces, or confine His abode to the altars and temples which reverent hands have reared and built for Him; or His presence to this sect or that; that He *has not* moved like ourselves by eloquent appeals; and that He does *not* interfere specially and arbitrarily to commiserate, relieve, or punish. But beyond such self-evident negations as these the man of the period can know little more of Him whom he calls God than the caudate creatures from which the race is said to have descended. And he, therefore, who holds the counter view, and arrogates to himself powers superior to these, or insight deeper than this, may be justly suspected of unwittingly abusing the sublime gift of imagination to deceive himself and to cause others to be deceived. "Who by searching can find out God?"

ART. IV.—WAR INDEBTMENT: ITS LIMITATIONS AND DANGERS.

1. *Essays Literary, Moral and Political.* By DAVID HUME. London: 1870.
2. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.* By ADAM SMITH. London: 1796.
3. *Traité d'économie politique.* Par JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY. Am. Tr. Philadelphia: 1830.
4. *A Treatise on Political Economy.* By COUNT DESTUTT TRACY. (Am. Tr.) Georgetown, D. C.: 1817.
5. *The Elements of Moral Science.* By FRANCIS WAYLAND. Boston: 1867.
6. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson.* Edited by H. A. WASHINGTON. New York: 1853.

THE abuse of public credit in borrowing money at interest for the purpose of sustaining the unproductive consumption of war, has been carried to such an extent that the observation of Hume with reference to England has a world-wide application: "Either the nation must destroy public credit, or public credit will destroy the nation. It is impossible that they can both subsist, after the manner they have been hitherto managed, in this as well as in some other countries." * The statesman and the humanitarian are called upon to devise some measures, or to enunciate some principles that will serve to place a limitation upon this dangerous practice, or to put an end to it altogether.

"We have seen," says a writer in the *Westminster Review*,† "that

* *Essay on Public Credit.*

† January, 1876. *Foreign Loans and National Debts.*

during the last thirty years the whole world has been mortgaged, and the figures are still rising. We have noted that this has taken place during an era of vast material development, and we have endeavored to ascertain whether during this period wealth and population have kept pace with debt, and we find that, on the whole, debt has increased faster than the other two, and, in the majority of cases, presses with ever-increasing burden on national resources. We consider this state of things to be fraught eventually with many and great dangers, inasmuch as, in the time to come, we cannot count on the recurrence of such mighty agencies as have characterized the last thirty years—the existence of which, to some minds, may appear to have justified the incurring of such vast liabilities—but should rather contemplate a period of stagnation, if not of retrogression, and should prepare for all that this involves. And one of the things involved we hold to be the probable appreciation of gold, in other words, an increase in its purchasing power; and that, consequently, unless fresh discoveries are made, prices have seen their highest for many a long day, and that debts contracted in gold will, by reason of this movement, tend to press more heavily on the borrowers, and that it will be well if this pressure do not become in time so intolerable as to suggest, by way of solution, something like universal repudiation."

In ancient times the expense of carrying on a war was insignificant compared with the present. It seems to have been the practice among the nations of antiquity to hoard treasure beforehand to meet the exigencies of a war, either of conquest or of defence. The debts of nations incurred for war expenditure seem to have been considered as the personal debts of the sovereign; and at the close of expensive wars the coin was either debased or its denomination raised for the purpose of settling at a lower standard a debt contracted by a higher standard. The practice of funding, which enfeebles every nation which adopts it, is of comparatively recent origin. The Italian republics seem to have begun it. Spain resorted to the practice and was deeply in debt before the end of the sixteenth century.* But England seems to have been the first nation that has resorted to the practice of funding on a colossal scale to meet the expense of war, thus setting a most pernicious example to nations, contracting debts which can by no possibility ever be fairly paid, and entailing forever heavy

* *Wealth of Nations*, Book V, chap. iii.

burdens upon the unhappy victims. The growth of the British national debt was slow and gradual from the year 1688 to the year 1793, at which period it amounted to about £234,000,000. From that period to 1803, under George III, the debt more than doubled, having reached the amount of £526,000,000, and under George IV, it reached its maximum in the year 1815, being then about £865,000,000; since when there has been a small and unimportant reduction, but with the immediate prospect of an increase as a consequence of the ambitious and aggressive policy of the present Ministry. There are other nations suffering under burdens too heavy to be borne; in fact, nearly all the nations of the earth are groaning under the weight of these enormous war debts; and when exasperated humanity revolts at this system, it is called socialism, and we are told that social "order" must be maintained at all hazards; and we have more repression, more bayonets, more taxation, more—"socialism." Lastly, the United States have contracted an enormous funded debt, at least two-thirds of which might have been easily avoided if the revenue power of the Federal Government had been rigorously employed at an early period of the war; and this debt, which was mainly contracted in Bills of Credit at an average value of fifty cents on the dollar, has been imposed on the taxpayers at its full nominal value in coin, by an act which must be considered the most pernicious breach of trust on the part of the trustees of power, of which history furnishes any example. Let us, therefore, revert to the original constitution of society, in order to discover, if possible, how far "the vile maxims of the masters of mankind"* are obligatory upon the people of the United States, and whether, as trustees for our posterity, we are not bound to exercise the law of self-preservation to prevent the establishment of a moneyed aristocracy on the ruins of the republic.

It must be observed that in a civil society the government, as we term it, is only the agent, society itself being the prin-

* "All for ourselves, and nothing for other people, seems, in every age of the world, to have been 'the vile maxims of the masters of mankind.'"
—*Wealth of Nations*, Book III, chap. IV.

cipal *; that the acts of this agent, if they transcend the power delegated to it by its principal, are void and of no effect under any form of government, and, *à fortiori*, under a written Constitution where the delegated powers are carefully expressed, and where the exercise of undelegated power is absolutely debarred. Human beings must, by the very law of their existence, associate together; without association the individual would be deprived of the right to himself—the right to his own body, and to his faculties both of body and mind. In the absence of the restraining power delegated to its agent by society, every man would exercise his physical power in some way to violate the rights of his neighbor. He might deprive him of life, subject him to his will, seize his property, and in a thousand ways violate the inalienable rights with which he has been endowed by his Creator.

It must be observed that society *confers* no right upon any man; it does not institute the agency which we term government for the purpose of aggrandizing or enriching one individual at the expense of another individual, or at the expense of society at large: it is the object of society or its agent to only *secure* to the individual his inalienable rights. Hence the error of supposing that property is the creation of government or of society. Society may and should protect one in the possession and enjoyment of one's property; but it cannot make that, *my* property, which was not *mine* before it took action on the subject.† Moreover, society has no right to organize itself, or to enact laws, in violation of the social laws of man. Civil and religious liberty, life, property, security against the invasion of his home, subject to such regulation and restraint only as may be indispensable to the good of the whole, are the indefeasible possessions and rights of every man. Every man is a member of civil society whether he will or not; he becomes a member of it as soon as he begins to live, and the moment he begins to live he needs and should receive the protection of society, and hence the reciprocal obligation upon him to unite in affording protection to it.

In order that the agent of society—government—may per-

* Wayland's *Elements of Moral Science*, p. 314.

† *Ibid.*, p. 349.

form the duties for which it was instituted, which duties society as a body cannot perform for itself, and which, upon the economic principle of the division of labor, it were better that it should not undertake, it becomes necessary to incur expense, and this expense must be provided for by a general contribution of the individuals composing society according to their respective abilities. Society, therefore, without asking the consent of the individual, may, through its agent, tax him for his proportion of the necessary expense, and all that the individual can claim is that no more than a just proportion be taken from him. The agent of society can tax for no other purpose than to execute the powers conferred upon it by the society according to the fundamental law, or, as it is termed in the United States, the Constitution. The power to tax is the power to destroy; it is the power to take from those who labor the product of their labor, and to give it to those who do not labor. And when thus used "it is a curse equal to the barrenness of the earth and the inclemency of the heavens." * It is not enough that a majority of the members of the society may believe the object of taxation to be desirable, wise or necessary; the right to tax for such specific object must be shown, or such a tax is a usurpation and a tyranny. † But society or its agent may, and frequently does, err, ‡ goes beyond the constitutional limits of its authority, and inflicts injury on itself, or on a portion of the individual members composing the social compact. Under such circumstances there are three courses open to the injured individuals; passive obedience, resistance by force, or suffering in the cause of right, doing what can be done by changing the opinions of the majority of the members of the the society, and trusting to a returning sense of equity to remove the cause and redress the wrong. Dr. Wayland is very clear on this point. He writes:

I. "Passive obedience, in many cases, would be manifestly wrong. We have no right to obey an unrighteous law, since we must obey God at all hazards. And aside from this, the yielding

* *Wealth of Nations*, Book IV, chap. ii.

† Wayland's *Elements of Moral Science*, p. 351.

‡ Public opinion has been outrageously wrong in all countries at various times.—Burke.

to injustice forms a precedent for wrong, which may work the most extensive mischief to those who will come after us. It is manifest, therefore, that passive obedience cannot be the rule of civil conduct."

II. "Resistance to civil authority by a single individual would be absurd. It can succeed only by a combination of all the aggrieved against the aggressors, terminating in an appeal to physical force; that is, by civil war.

III. Suffering in the cause of right and appealing to a sense of justice in the majority of the members of society has these advantages:

1. "It preserves entire whatever exists that is valuable in the present organization.

2. "It presents the best prospect of ultimate correction of abuse by appealing to the reason and conscience of men. This is, surely, a more fit tribunal to which to refer a moral question than the tribunal of physical force."

In the case of an attempt to overthrow the civil power by the employment of the military on the part of the agent of society, with, or without the assistance of a portion of the members of society, it becomes the immediate duty of citizens to resist the usurpation by force of arms.

Moreover the responsibility of a civil society is limited to the generation which incurs it. In this connection Mr. Jefferson observes that,

"According to the tables of mortality, of the adults living at any one moment of time a majority will be dead in about nineteen years. At the end of that period then, a new majority is come into place, or, in other words, a new generation. Each generation is as independent of the one preceding, as that was of all which had gone before."*

Each generation is, therefore, for the purposes of a civil society, as distinct from another as communities and nations are distinct from each other.

"That our Creator," continues Mr. Jefferson, "made the earth for the use of the living and not of the dead; that those who exist not can have no use or right in it, no authority nor power over it; that one generation of men cannot foreclose or burthen its use to another, which comes to it in its own right and by the same divine beneficence; that a preceding generation cannot bind a succeeding one by its laws or contracts; these deriving their obligation from the will of the existing majority, and that majority

* *Works*, Vol. VII, pp. 15, 16.

being removed by death, another comes in its place with a will equally free to make its own laws and contracts; these are axioms so self-evident that no explanation can make them plainer; for he is not to be reasoned with who says that non-existence can control existence, or that nothing can move something. They are axioms also pregnant with salutary consequences. The laws of civil society, indeed, for the encouragement of industry, give the property of the parent to his family on his death, and in most civilized countries permit him even to give it by testament, to whom he pleases. And it is also found more convenient to suffer the laws of our predecessors to stand on our implied assent, as if positively reenacted, until the existing majority positively repeals them. But this does not lessen the right of that majority to repeal whenever a change of circumstances or of will calls for it. Habit alone confounds what is civil practice with natural right."

There is, then, between generation and generation, no other law than the law of nature; the present generation, therefore, is not bound by the preceding generation, nor can it rightfully bind generations to come.

The foregoing propositions would appear to be obviously just, and they afford a solid foundation upon which we can rest our conclusions respecting the obligations of a people with reference to a public debt created for the unproductive consumption of war. The modern expedient which prevails is nothing less than a sequestration of the property of future generations to the ambitious and selfish ends of politicians, money-jobbers, and army contractors who often provoke or prolong war for the sake of war, or for the furtherance of the dynastic schemes of a political party, or to gratify the lust of conquest or of power. The public revenue is mortgaged upon the pretence "that posterity," as Hume says, "will pay off the incumbrances contracted by their ancestors; and posterity having so good an example of their wise friends, their wise fathers have the same prudent reliance on *their* posterity; who, at last, from necessity more than choice, are obliged to place the same confidence in a new posterity."* It is not unfrequently the aim of the politicians to inflame the passions of the people, and to avoid taxation when taxation would be likely to cool them. If the people were taxed to a degree

* *Essay on Public Credit.*

sufficient to meet the expense of war, they would begin to examine into its expediency; they would begin to be inquisitive as to the military or economic conduct of the war; they would be desirous of peace perhaps, at a moment when peace would be fatal to the ascendancy of the party in power. "It is very tempting," observes Hume, "to a minister, to employ the expedient of funding to enable him to make a great figure during his administration, without overburdening the people with taxes, or exciting any immediate clamors against himself." And when there is no longer an enemy in the field, or when the war is allowed to cease from some other motive; when the debt has been piled sufficiently high, then, as in our case, we have office-holders, mortgagees of the public revenue, and national banks of issue—the *noblesse obligée*, with the military spirit paramount, insolent, and pervading every department of the government—a government no longer resting on the consent of the governed, but a democracy transformed into a plutocracy, whose subservient tools are omnipresent in the executive department of the government, on the judicial bench, in the church, in politics, in the telegraph service, on the press, everywhere. "Then begins, indeed, the *bellum omnium in omnia*, which some philosophers, observing to be so general in the world, have mistaken for the natural instead of the abusive state of man. And the fore horse of this frightful team is public debt. Taxation follows that, and in its train wretchedness and oppression,"* until, finally, repudiation in some form removes the injustice,† or revolution—"the victory of disimprisoned anarchy over corrupt, worn-out government," resolves society into its original elements and makes room for a new civil society under a new social compact.

The able French savant Destutt Tracy, forcibly observes:

"A government of any kind, whether monarchical or polyarchical, in a word, of men now existing, has it a right thus to burden men not yet in existence, and to compel them to pay in future times their present expenses? * * * * * To create a

* Jefferson's *Works*, Vol. II, p. 14.

† "When national debts have once been accumulated to a certain degree, there is scarce I believe, a single instance of their having been fairly and completely paid."—*Wealth of Nations*, Book V, chap. iii.

class of idle annuitants who are completely indifferent to the success or failure of the industrious class to which they have lent nothing; having absolutely no interest but the permanence of the borrowing government, whatsoever it be or whatsoever it does; and at the same time having no desire but to see it embarrassed, to the end that it may be forced to keep fair with them and pay them better. Consequently natural enemies to the true interests of society, or at least being absolutely strangers to them. I do not pretend to say that all the annuitants of the state are bad citizens; but I say that their situation is calculated to render them such."*

But suppose society becomes engaged in an unavoidable war, and instead of taxing itself to pay the expense of such a war, imposes it, or a considerable portion of it, on posterity. "Are they bound," asks Jefferson, "to acknowledge the debt, to consider the preceding generation as having had a right to eat up the whole soil of their country, in the course of their life, to alienate it from them, (for it would be an alienation to the creditors,) and would they think themselves either legally or morally bound to give up their country and emigrate to another for subsistence? Every one will say no; that the soil is the gift of God to the living, as much as it had been to the deceased generation; and that the laws of nature impose no obligation on them to pay this debt. And although, like some other natural rights, this has not yet entered into any declaration of rights, it is no less a law, and ought to be acted on by honest government."†

Has a father, it may be asked, any right to sell his child as a slave in perpetuity; to alienate his body and industry conjointly, and *à fortiori*, his industry separately, and consume its fruits himself? Or has the aggregate of fathers a right to alienate the labor of their children, of their posterity in the aggregate, and oblige them to pay for all the enterprises, just or unjust, profitable or ruinous, into which their vices, their passions, or their personal interests may lead them? "I trust" says Jefferson, "that this proposition needs only to be looked at by an American to be seen in its true point of view."

It would seem, then, that whenever a nation becomes involved in a war which could not have been foreseen and paid

* *Economie politique*, chap. xii. ———

† *Works*, Vol. VI, p. 138.

for in advance, and the expense of which could not be wholly met by taxation, the principle on which debt may be incurred for the purpose of meeting a deficit is the same as the principle involved in what is known in maritime law as General Average. This law may be briefly stated :

"The law of general average rests upon reasons which are so obvious, and so certainly just, that it is not surprising to find that it is older than any other law or rule now in force. We have already seen that it was found in the code of Rhodes; and is, indeed, probably, the only part of that code which has been certainly preserved. And it owes this distinction to the fact that it was incorporated into the Roman civil law." *

The Island of Rhodes possessed a flourishing commerce a thousand years before the Christian era, and the Rhodian law stated the modern principle of General Average as distinctly as it is stated in any recent text book, in these words: "*Legge Rhoda cavetur, ut si levanda navis gratia jactus mercium factus est, omnium contributione sarciantur quod pro omnibus datum est.*" Briefly stated the law is, that when a voluntary sacrifice is made for the purpose of saving what otherwise would be lost, such as throwing overboard cargo for the purpose of lightening a ship already too deeply loaded and in danger of foundering in a tempest, the property saved, including the value of the freight which otherwise would not be earned, should pay for that which was sacrificed in proportion to its value; that which was sacrificed also contributing according to its value, upon the presumption that it also would have been lost had it not been voluntarily sacrificed. There are three essential facts necessary to a contribution under a general average. First, the sacrifice must be voluntary; second, it must be necessary; third it must be successful. Or, in other words, there must be a common danger, a voluntary loss, and a saving of the imperilled property by that loss.

Now, in the case of the late civil war in the United States, "many and diverse interests being involved in a common peril from which escape is possible only by the voluntary sacrifice of one of them, if this sacrifice had been made, and thus

* Parsons on *Maritime Law*, Vol. I.

the peril avoided by all the rest, it is plain that it must be considered the sacrifice or loss of all involved in the danger, and an escaping from it by the sacrifice which the good of all required." * When the war broke out, therefore, the whole interests of society and the entire property of the North became imperiled. If the enemy had triumphed, the North would not only have lost, without any equivalent in exchange, the whole expense of the unsuccessful war, but it might, and probably would, have been subjected to a heavy indemnity in money, as was the case in the late war between Germany and France; and beside this, England and France might, in our weakened and exhausted condition, have joined with the victorious South in exacting this indemnity, and have at the same time required territorial indemnity for themselves and for the South. This danger was not at all imaginary; it was real and at one time very imminent. If the battle of Gettysburg had resulted in a victory for the Confederate arms, there is reason to believe that the independence of the South would have been acknowledged, and treaties negotiated with that power by both England and France, involving the partition of this country and the immediate payment of a money indemnity. Many and diverse interests were therefore involved in a common peril. A voluntary sacrifice of life and property averted the peril, and the cost of that sacrifice should be borne by the contributory interests that were rescued from danger. And the contributory interests involved were the entire fixed and circulating capital of the North; and of the South, also by way of indemnity to the North for forcing the latter into the war. Included in the circulating capital of the country is the net product of labor during the period over which the payment of that debt is extended, not going beyond the period of twenty years beyond the close of the war.

The problem, therefore, of adjusting this general average and apportioning the loss among the contributory interests is one of great difficulty. It has been remarked that had the taxing power been put into rigorous operation at the commencement of the war, the funded debt of the nation at the close

* Parsons on *Maritime Law*, Vol. II.

2^d Series: VOL. IV.—NO. I.

of it need not have reached more than one-third of its extent. But the politicians, who never lost sight of their own interests, feared that the pressure of taxation would cool the ardor of the people who were moved by a noble impulse and ready for any sacrifice; and when tax laws were finally passed they did not, or were not made to, take effect immediately, for reasons which the politicians understand; so that a large portion of the money taken out of the pockets of the people by the speculative advance in the price of taxed articles did not find its way into the Treasury as it should have done.* But the problem of adjusting the general average was met to some extent in the beginning by the issue of Bills of Credit, commonly known as "greenbacks." The Bills of Credit were issued in lieu of a tax, and their issue was, indeed, a violation of property, as is taxation in any form; but it was a violation of property for the sake of the civil society to which the right of property itself owes its own existence and security. "Nations," says Say, "precipitated into foreign wars,† before they have had time previously to accumulate the requisite capital for carrying them on, and destitute of sufficient credit to borrow of their neighbors, have always had recourse to paper money or some similar expedient. The Dutch, in their struggle with the Spanish crown for independence, issued money of paper, of leather and of many other materials. The United States of America, under similar circumstances, likewise had recourse to paper-money; and the expedient that enabled the French Republic to foil the formidable attack of the first Coalition, has immortalized the name of *assignats*,"‡ But the advantage of the issue of Bills of Credit in this respect has not only been wholly lost, but by the flagitious conduct of fiscal administration since the close of the war has been changed to the advantage of mortgagees and annuitants, and has caused what Mr. Jefferson called a revolution of property to an extent greater than that caused by the war itself, and which, if not arrested,

* It is well and publicly known that enormous frauds have been perpetrated on the Treasury, and that colossal fortunes have been made at the public expense.—*Annual Message* of the President of the United States to Congress, 1867-8.

† And *à fortiori* into civil war.

‡ *Traité d'économie politique*.

will cause a revolution of the government and accomplish what the Confederate arms failed to accomplish. And not only this, but the funded debt contracted in Bills of Credit, unnecessarily large as it manifestly was, has been imposed upon society in coin; that is to say, by a standard twice as high as that by which it was contracted; and this too in defiance of the letter and spirit of the statute authorizing the issue of bonds,* and after a considerable portion of the funded debt had passed into the hands of aliens to the Commonwealth at forty cents on the dollar, and with the object of facilitating the transfer to aliens of a still larger portion in exchange for foreign manufactured commodities unproductively consumed at enormous prices.† It will be seen that this unwise, not to say perfidious, act ‡ not only doubled the entire debt at one instant, but the portion transferred abroad was redoubled in its capital; and in every fifteen years or so the interest paid out of the country in commodities, at very low prices, reaches an amount equal to the capital of the debt itself, which is, of course, a net loss to the nation, as it is without the least effect in reducing the principal.

We may fairly pause for breath as we contemplate the unparalleled consequences of this alteration of the standard. It is quite true that that portion of the British debt which was contracted during the restriction of cash payments upon the Bank of England was imposed upon the British tax payers by a higher standard than that by which it was contracted; but this measure, unjust, unconstitutional, and oppressive as it was, differed both in degree and kind from that which we have been considering. In the *first* place, the standard in Great Britain had been changed only to the extent of an average of

* The Bills of Credit were, when issued, and have been ever since, "a legal tender for all debts public and private, except duties on imports and interest on the public debt."

† The effect of this transfer to Europe of our debt is very disastrous. While retained at home it represents only one capital destroyed in the war: when sent abroad it represents still another capital consumed, and this a foreign capital.

‡ The so-called Public Credit Bill. The nature of this Act seems to have been understood, and was characterized at the time of its passage as a "swindling brokers' bill," by General Butler, who was a member of the House.

perhaps fifteen per cent., and this not by the act of the Government alone,* as it was largely, if not chiefly, caused by the excessive issues of the country banks. *Secondly*, the resumption of cash payments at the ante-war standard was brought about by the accidental failure of two hundred and forty banks of issue, which disaster was caused by the renewal of intercourse with the continent and a consequential fall in the price of corn. *Thirdly*, the British debt was mainly held at home and the alteration of the standard did not, therefore, largely or chiefly inure to the benefit of aliens to the Commonwealth. *Fourthly*, it was not a deliberate act of spoliation.† The tremendous enormity, audacity and wickedness of our own legislation on this subject is, therefore, fairly unmatched in the annals of history, while its consequences entirely baffle computation, and stagger the imagination itself. 'Cicero thought that there is a separate place reserved in heaven for those statesmen who have helped to ameliorate the condition of their country, where they may enjoy happiness to all eternity. May we not equally conceive that there is a separate place reserved in some other region for those who swallowed up the needy and made the poor of the land to fail; who made the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsified the balances by deceit?‡ We repeat, that the problem of adjusting equitably the loss occasioned by the war is not only one of great difficulty, but that not the first step has been taken towards effecting such adjustment. It is true that President Andrew Johnson officially proposed that the war debt should not bear interest, and that the payments made on account of such interest should be treated as installments of the principal until the debt was extinguished.¶

* The government did not issue paper money; it confined its action to restricting the Bank of England from redeeming its own notes in coin.

† A Mr. Hutchinson, spoken of by Hume as an excellent citizen, said that it was a fallacy to imagine that the public owed this debt (British debt) and that it would be better for each person to contribute a sum suitable to his property and discharge the mortgage at once.—Hume's *Essay on Public Credit*.

‡ *Amos*, 8th chap. 4th and 5th verses.

¶ "It may be assumed that the holders of our securities have already received upon their bonds a larger amount than their original investment, measured by a gold standard. Upon this statement of facts it would seem but just and equitable that the six per cent. interest now paid by the government shall be applied to the reduction of the principal in semi-annual installments, which in sixteen years and eight months would liquidate the entire national debt."—*Annual Message*, 3d Session, Fortieth Congress, 1868-9.

This proposition, eminently proper and equitable as we shall endeavor to show it to have been, was the courageous, humane and just act of an incorruptible statesman—

“So excellent a king; that was, to this,
Hyperion to a satyr.”

But it did not suit the plutocratic tendency of the time, and was not treated even with cold respect. And yet it is perfectly clear that, even supposing there had been no alteration of the standard, upon the principles laid down by Mr. Jefferson, and according to the law of general average which we have supposed applicable to the case, the people of the United States will, in seven years, cease to be under any obligation whatever with reference to the war debt; while at the same time it is also clear that the tax payers have already paid into the public treasury an amount largely exceeding the value of the original capital destroyed in the war. The cost of the war, we repeat, should be borne by the generation that contracted it, but thus far the existing capital of the society which was imperiled by the war has contributed nothing whatever; on the contrary, society has, by indirect taxes on the consumption of the people, * actually paid to the capital loaned to the government, in lieu of taxation and under the name of interest, a sum more than equal to the original amount advanced, so that those who have loaned their capital have done no more or no other service for society than they might have done for a foreign society engaged in a foreign war, or any war, where no interest of theirs was imperiled; and besides that, the principal of the capital which they loaned society in Bills of Credit is, it is claimed, to be paid back in coin; thus actually enriching them to the extent of more than double their capital, while the yearly interest received, including the exemption from taxation, aggregates the astounding rate of seventeen per centum! †

The idea of paying anything towards a debt incurred for the unproductive consumption of war under the name of in-

* Indirect taxes on consumption, next to a capitation tax, is the most unequal and oppressive form of taxation.

† *Annual Message*, President of the United States to 45th Congress, 1868-9.

terest is a wrong in itself, because there is no fund out of which interest can be taken. In the case of a debt incurred for the construction of works of public utility interest naturally arises; it arises from the use of capital, from the profits of capital, but it cannot arise from the destruction of capital. Even in commerce, where interest properly arises, the rate of interest, other things being equal, is determined by the rate of profit; and if there is no profit in an expenditure there can justly be no interest. "Whoever derives his revenue from a fund which is his own, must draw it either from his labor, from his stock, or from his land," writes Adam Smith. "The revenue derived from labor," he continues, "is called wages. That derived from stock, by the person who manages or employs it, is called profit. That derived from it by the person who does not employ it himself, but lends it to another, is called the interest on the use of money. *It is the compensation which the borrower pays to the lender, for the profit which he has an opportunity of making by the use of money.* Part of that profit naturally belongs to the borrower, who runs the risk and takes the trouble of employing it; and part to the lender, who affords him the opportunity of making this profit. *The interest of money is always a derivative revenue*, which, if it is not paid from the profit which is made by the use of the money, must be paid from some other source of revenue, unless, perhaps, the borrower is a spendthrift, who contracts a second debt in order to pay the interest of the first." *

The President of the United States, in his message to Congress, 1868-9, used the following language:

"Our foreign debt is already computed by the Secretary of the Treasury at \$850,000,000; † citizens of foreign countries receive interest upon a large portion of our securities, and American tax payers are made to contribute large sums for their support. ‡ The idea that such a debt is to become permanent should be at all times discarded, as involving taxation too heavy to be borne, and payment once in every sixteen years, at the present rate of

* *Wealth of Nations*, Part I, chap. vi. The italics are ours.

† This amount, including government, municipal, state and corporation bonds and stocks, and mortgages upon real estate is probably tripled.

‡ Also to the support of absentees who luxuriate in foreign capitals on the proceeds of taxes wrung from American labor.

interest, of an amount equal to the original sum. The vast debt, if permitted to become permanent and increasing, must eventually be gathered into the hands of a few,* and enable them to exert a dangerous and controlling power in the affairs of the government. The borrowers would become servants of the lenders—the lenders the masters of the people. We now pride ourselves upon having given freedom to four million of the colored race; it will then be our shame that forty million of people, by their own toleration of usurpation and profligacy, have suffered themselves to become enslaved, and merely exchanged slave-owners for new task-masters in the shape of bondholders and tax gatherers. Besides, permanent debts pertain to monarchical governments, and, tending to monopolies, perpetuities, and class legislation, are totally irreconcilable with free institutions. Introduced into our republican system they would gradually but surely sap its foundations, eventually subvert our governmental fabric, and erect upon its ruins a moneyed aristocracy. It is our sacred duty to transmit unimpaired to our posterity the blessings of liberty which were bequeathed to us by the founders of the republic, and by our example teach those who are to follow us, carefully to avoid the dangers which threaten a free and independent people."

The existing moneyed capital of the country invested in government bonds, as we have said, has made no contribution to the general average to cover the loss of war; and any proposition looking to that end is denounced in unmeasured language as repudiation, a monstrous breach of faith, the destruction of public credit, a national disgrace, etc.; and whoever is bold enough to venture upon such a proposition is assailed by opprobrious epithets, and "bull-dozed," if we may so speak, into silent submission to an insolent tyranny, until in the conflict between what Hume distinguished as the Opinion of Right and the Opinion of Interest,† we find the latter to prevail and establish itself as

"an omnipotence—whose veil

Mantles the earth with darkness, until right
And wrong are accidents, and men grow pale,
Lest their own judgments should become too bright,
And their free thoughts be crimes, and earth have too much light."

We have seen that wages, profits and rent‡ have already paid

* This is precisely what is taking place.

† *Essay on the First Principles of Government.*

‡ Rent, Profit and Wages. "Every tax must finally be paid from some one or other of these three different sorts of revenue, or from all of them indifferently."—*Wealth of Nations*, Book V, chap. 3.

the capital of the war debt to its holders, besides having contributed enormous sums directly for war expenditure through the operation of tax laws. And we know upon high authority that indirect taxes come out of productive capital, since they cannot come from dead capital, and injure reproduction; that they "resemble the exaction of a tithe upon grain at seed-time instead of harvest-time."* And among the contributory interests whose share of the sacrifice no human law of general average can adjust, are the desolated hearts and homes whose former occupants have poured out their full measure of devotion. The whole number of enlistments (including second enlistments) into the federal forces from 1861 to 1865 was nearly 2,750,000—in 1865 the army aggregated 1,000,000; while 304,000 officers and soldiers died in the service, of wounds and disease.† "Nevertheless I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away," was the marked passage in the Bible of a Federal soldier who died in Libby prison. Yes! it was expedient that the sacrifice should be made; and it was made. It was expedient that wages, profits and rent should contribute their share, and they have done much more; it ought to be expedient that capital should contribute its share, but it has not done so.—We mean by capital the accumulated savings of past labor that was loaned to the government; and it is absolutely true that it has not contributed one dollar to the sacrifice made to rescue it from the peril in which it was involved; and it is equally true that it has already received more than it originally loaned to the government, measured by any standard, and there is, therefore, no further obligation on the part of society on account of the expense of the war.‡

* Sismondi, quoted by Say.

† Johnson's *New Universal Cyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 1054.

‡ Lest we seem to do injustice to capitalists in this matter let us elucidate the point we make: Suppose a person loaned one hundred thousand dollars to the government (*i. e.* Bills of Credit of the denomination of \$100,000) equal in value to ten thousand tons of coal of the then existing standard in the year 1863, and received bonds to the nominal amount of \$100,000 bearing interest at six per cent. in gold coin; and these bonds are called in and discharged in the year 1877 by the payment at their face denomination in coin, equal to the then existing standard to twenty-five thousand tons of coal. So far it will be seen that not only has this person not contributed anything to the general average, but the capital has been re-

It is unnecessary to devote space to the plea that the holder of government bonds risked his capital when he "loaned" it to the government, and that he is, therefore, entitled to an extraordinary per centum on the amount. Aside from the fact that there could be no risk in exchanging one piece of government paper, a Bill of Credit bearing no interest, for another piece of paper of the same government yielding an annual amount of seventeen per centum, it is only necessary to say that, failing to sell bonds for the purpose of absorbing the Bills of Credit as fast as they were issued, the government would have been obliged to issue Bills of Credit indefinitely, and by this means alone it would have stripped the capitalist as naked as were the people of the Confederate States; indeed, the calculating prudence of capital after the first important defeat of the Federal forces was one of the causes that necessitated the issue of Bills of Credit. Again, the government could have declared martial law throughout the North and have laid its hands on property wherever it could have been found. Nay, by the conscription it could have taken the capitalist himself and hurled him to destruction against the fortifications of the enemy.

We do not wish to be understood as recommending no further appropriation of money on account of the expense of the war. That question we leave to the determination of the rightful authority, merely observing that it is often expedient to make concession when there is no moral obligation. Whether or not concession is expedient in this case, the candid reader must decide for himself. But whatever course may be pursued in respect of the matter, the rights involved

turned to him in money worth twice and one-half what was loaned, and this increase of value has been taken from the wages of labor, profits of business and the rent of land, *i. e.*, the produce of the soil. Moreover, this person has received in interest \$84,000 in gold coin (subject to a small deduction during the time the income tax was in force) or according to the average value of gold coin, an amount equal to more than twenty thousand tons of coal additional. Now, has there been anything taken from the capital owned by this person, and *sacrificed*? His neighbor sacrificed his life. As a citizen he was bound to sacrifice something. The capitalist has paid indirect taxes on consumption, but as an offset to this he has been exempted from direct taxation. Society has given him a handsome income on his capital, and returned him more than double its original value. Is society, then, under any further obligation on account of the cost of the war?

are too well defined to become questions of serious public controversy. The public mind is aroused on the subject, and is beginning to examine into its ethical bearings, and may be trusted ultimately to form correct conclusions. The signs of the times indicate that it will be the part of prudence for the bondholders to imitate the example of a certain inexorable money-lender, and say to the government

"Give me my principal, and let me go,"—

lest they experience his unlucky fate.

ART. V.—VOLTAIRE AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1. *Voltaire*. By JOHN MORLEY. London : 1872.
2. VOLTAIRE, *Sechs Vorträge*. VON D. F. STRAUSS.
3^{te} Aufl. 1872.
3. *Cours de Littérature Française*. Par M. VILLEMMAIN.
Bruxelles : 1840.
4. *History of French Literature in the 18th Century*.
By ALEX. VINET. Trans. by JAS. BRYCE.
5. *Œuvres de Voltaire*. Paris : 1824-34.
6. *Origines de la France contemporaine*. H. A. TAINÉ.
7. *Geschichte der Poesie und Bered.* Sanskrit. VON
FR. BOUTERWEK. 1801-19.

THE centennial year of Voltaire's death, which closed with 1878, turned anew the attention of the literary world to the man who was beyond all question the most influential private person of the eighteenth century. But for a long time since there were not wanting indications, even outside of France, of a disposition to question the popular verdict upon this man, and to reexamine the data upon which that verdict was based. The excellent monographs of Morley and Strauss have contributed much toward removing the odium that had unjustly attached to his name. The former dwells rather more upon his good deeds and excellent qualities than he should to give the reader a life-like picture of the man : but in the work of Strauss we have placed before us Voltaire as he was. His career is traced with an objectivity that one could expect only in the work of a scholarly historian uninfluenced by national sym-

pathy or religious bias ; while his efforts in behalf of religious and political freedom are described in language that would be used only by one in full sympathy with his motives.

The world is beginning more fully and correctly to comprehend Voltaire by reason of other causes. The historian of to-day is no longer content to transfer the records of his authorities unchallenged to his own pages. He goes deeper. He regards not only the testimony, but also the character of the witnesses ; seeks to know as far as possible their opportunities for getting trustworthy information ; and whether prejudice or self-interest or both may have influenced their judgment. It may be conceded that no man is wholly bad or thoroughly good. The best have their moments of weakness ; the worst are at times influenced by that better nature which underlies our common humanity. The result of this rereading of historical archives is the discovery that few men were really as bad or as good as they have been commonly represented.

We do not purpose to consider Voltaire merely as a literary man ; it only concerns us here to examine the influence of the man upon his age, and of the age upon the man. He has frequently been called the author and cause of the French Revolution. Whether this may have been said in his praise or to his disparagement, it is not the truth. As well might we say that John Adams or Patrick Henry was the author of the American war of independence ; for, like these men, Voltaire only gave form to thoughts that had a very wide-spread existence in France. He only said, and in language that was terribly vigorous :

"What oft was thought, but ne'er so well expressed."

He was no leveler like his fanatical fellow-countrymen who carried the spirit of revolution to its fearful extreme. He advocated a constitutional monarchy, and labored to bring all classes on an equality before the law. Society was to begin its own reform at the top—a course of procedure which experience pronounces absurd and impossible. The possessors of thrones were to be converted to liberal principles and to a recognition of the rights of man.

It has occurred many times, in the history of the world, that nations have been powerfully moved, for a long time, by some predominant idea, or impelled by a common want, before any one has arisen to give it form and expression. They have felt a longing for something they did not possess, a restiveness under the forms by which they were confined, without knowing just whence or in what shape their deliverance would come, or to whom to look for aid. It has been so in politics, in religion, in literature. At such times there are generally some great men, but no greatest man; there are able and willing coadjutors, but no leader; there are those who would become skilful assistants, but not master workmen—until at last Providence raises up the man possessing all the qualities requisite for the work he is destined to perform. Relief never fails to come sooner or later to the really oppressed; but not unfrequently, under the dictation of self-interested demagogues, certain classes clamor for what they are made to believe are their rights, only to find after awhile that they have been duped, and that their case has been made worse rather than better. Thrasybulus, the Gracchi, Cæsar, Mahomet, Petrarch, Luther, Rousseau and Voltaire were all quite as much representatives as leaders;—in truth, they only led because they represented. Their power, their influence and their courage were in most cases owing to a constituency more or less numerous and powerful. Sometimes men gain support through the courage of fanaticism; sometimes by a firm reliance upon the truths they proclaim; but much oftener because an irresistible reciprocal influence between leaders and followers bears them onward. Voltaire's was not the courage of convictions reached through laborious processes of reasoning. He was the champion of the oppressed because he could not be otherwise. He was "instinct personified." This trait is clearly exhibited by his bitter hatred of Christianity. No student of history, no thoughtful man even, will regard any human institution of wide-spread influence as a mere invention for any purpose whatever. Voltaire, looking around him upon the oppression practised in the name and under the guise of religion, did not stop to consider whether the two had any neces-

sary inter-relation. Christianity is a great historical fact, and we can no more refuse to take cognizance of its influence upon the development of the nations of Europe than we can of religion in general upon the development of mankind. We may disbelieve the story of the founding of Rome, but no sane man will deny the power and extension of the Roman Empire; and though its rule was often oppressive, it was invariably better than the authority it displaced. Nothing can be more absurd than to imagine that, in a time when the Roman Empire was at the zenith of its glory, a bad man, of no social or civil rank, should deliberately set to work to devise a method which would enable a small proportion of the people of Europe to exercise unlimited authority over all the rest, when that method not only contemplated a complete overturning of the existing order of things, but would likewise bring certain death to the innovator and his abettors. Believe what we may about its origin, we can but admit that no equally powerful conservative influence emanating from a single person has appeared in the world either before or since the founding of Christianity. Voltaire did not hold the founder of Christianity responsible for the institution known by that name and existing in his time. It would be equally reasonable to hold Aristotle accountable for the absurdities of which many of his professed disciples were guilty. Yet he is, time upon time, accused of applying his famous "Ecrasez l'infâme" to Christ himself.* The character of Jesus Voltaire did not and could not comprehend, though he frequently expresses a high regard for the uprightness of his life and the purity of his morals. He places him lower than Confucius, who made no claim—perhaps because he had none—to inspiration, but spoke only as a wise man and as a teacher of morality; and calls him an "enthousiaste de bonne foi," who had the weakness of wishing to have himself talked about, and did not like priests. Why pity the tragic fate of

* "Ecrasez l'infâme!" We observe that in one place where Voltaire goes on speaking of the wretch, the word is feminine,—*elle*—what therefore if it means, as is most likely, the church, the church of Rome being the only one he knew,—the whore? and by this appellation?—Southey's *Common Place Book*. Fourth Series, p. 383.

this man, says he, "has he not founded a religion that caused more bloodshed than the bloodiest wars?" No, is his answer; Christ never intended to found a religion; Christianity, since the time of Constantine, is as far from Christ, as from Zoroaster or Brahma. He flatters himself of his ability to prove that Christ himself was no Christian, and that he would have rejected with disdain Christianity as dressed up in Rome. He does not find a single passage in the Gospels from which it can be made to appear that Christ intended to found a new religion on the ruins of the Jewish. If his disciples had continued to teach only what is contained in the Gospels, they would not have made many proselytes; but they veiled their doctrines in those of Plato, whereupon some shallow-minded people began to take them for philosophers. He says: "Platonism is the father of Christianity, and the Jewish religion is its mother."

Religion was no less and no more employed as an instrument of power by the privileged class of modern France than of ancient Rome. Voltaire was no atheist; yet he did not make due allowance for the fact that no human society has ever existed without a religion; that any religion naturally and necessarily restrains the freedom of human conduct; and that the restraint will be directed and graded by the interpreters of the supernatural Will. Nothing is more common, then, than the failure to recognize, in matters of religion, the limitations of divine authority. Voltaire holds with Locke that the existence of God is demonstrable by the cosmological and especially by the theological argument. He regards the belief in a rewarding and avenging Deity as necessary for the support of the moral order. Whence he affirms: "If God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent Him; but all natures cries out that He does exist." The atheistical school, of which Diderot was for a long time the acknowledged head, was far too radical for him.

That Voltaire had no comprehension of religious enthusiasm is further shown by his drama of *La Pucelle*. Notwithstanding his power and habit of rapid production, he kept it longer in his hands than any other one of his works; for it

is known that he began it in 1730 and it was not published till nearly thirty years afterward. Fearful, indeed, was his triumph, both indicating what he had accomplished and what was likely to happen further in French society, as, upon his last entry into Paris, the people shouted: "Long live the author of *La Pucelle*!" Here was evidence that he had not only extinguished the sentiment of veneration in the hearts of many of his countrymen, but that he had succeeded in making them regard the most heroic and most immaculate character in French history as little better than a courtesan. But it must also be said to his credit, that the earlier and more objectionable editions of the work were made from copies of his manuscript surreptitiously obtained and published without the author's knowledge or sanction. If we examine the meaning of the word *Voltaireism* as understood by those who knowingly use the term, we shall find that it is an out-and-out worldliness, a complete disregard and denial of obligation to the past, an obedience to the passing impulse, a being wholly without and never within. Voltaire "regards truth as beautiful, lovable, but not as necessarily true"; as a mere subjective thing and having a value only for the sentient being. No man could be more self-sacrificing than was Voltaire on many occasions; but he seems always to have sought the gratification of hate, quite as much as the consciousness of having done a good act. His efforts in behalf of the Sirvens, the Calas and others were undertaken none the less for their benefit than to crush their persecutors and the religion with which they were identified. He was himself a most cruel and relentless persecutor of those who had incurred his displeasure.

Voltaire's disregard of truth is one of his best attested and least excusable failings. Lessing,* who had a high regard for

*The older German critics are generally rather severe on Voltaire. The following is the eminent Bouterwek's estimate of him: "Taking his life as a whole, Voltaire is clearly a man entirely without character, at one time the embodiment of kindheartedness and filled with the genuine spirit of humanity; at another, malignant, envious and revengeful; now we see him inspired with the noblest zeal for truth and reason; and now a shameless joker, for whom the True has as little of sacredness as the Good, if he sees an opportunity for making himself conspicuous by the misuse of his talents. Hardly is he the true friend of a living soul; but vanity and love of lucre sometimes make him pretend to be so. More vain perhaps than ambitious

his talents, after speaking of him as the author who in a dozen lines had written three untruths, adds, "this is not very many for M. Voltaire." It is therefore very difficult to ascertain what were his real opinions on many subjects. One page of his extensive correspondence belies another; and he never hesitated to avow or attack an opinion, if anything was to be gained by such a course. More than once did he disavow his own literary performances when he saw they were likely to get him into trouble. Nor did he scruple to issue publications under the name of others, either of the living or of the dead. He seems to have lied sometimes when there was no occasion for so doing. He lied for the same reason that some animals fight, because it was natural; or perhaps as Macaulay says of Barrère, "merely to keep his hand in."

The French may be justly considered somewhat unfortunate in their reformers. Their best men, in some respects, were far from being models in their lives. A more inconsistent mortal than Rousseau can hardly be imagined; and both he and Voltaire repelled by their action, many who had been attached by their talents. The explanation is not far to seek, when we recall that Voltaire was not a man of fixed principles, but only of instincts. It is not easy to tell the truth even with the best intention to do so, and much less easy when we are liable to suffer for it. The first impulse of the child about to be punished for an evil act, is to deny it. The truthful man is the man who believes in responsibility both to the past and future; obligations that Voltaire made light of, or did not recognize at all. If we view man as a joke, we are justified in laughing at his follies; but if we contemplate the sorrow that his folly produces, the misfortunes he foolishly brings upon himself and others, we are not disposed to laughter. Voltaire is the personification of mockery; hence his terrible power among his countrymen. Among the French no weapon is more destructive than ridicule. Whatever has been made ridiculous is dead. And not only

and rarely magnanimous, a man to whom one can fitly apply the words of the Greek to a voluptuous statue of Adonis: 'There is nothing holy about you.' See also the quotation from Arnold's Essays.

in France but the world over the profoundest philosopher may be silenced by a joke from a clown. When Voltaire had succeeded in making venerated maxims of government and fundamental doctrines of the Church ridiculous, it was over with them. Men were ready to believe that neither government nor religion had any claims upon them. But Voltaire did not attack sound and vigorous institutions; he only accelerated the fall of what was already on the decline. There is no better proof of this than the fact that all Europe, filled as it was with great men in all departments of science and literature, produced no counter-champion worthy of his opponent. The people had not only begun to lose faith in the Church, but even their government was no longer an object of patriotic pride. The clergy and the nobility were believed to be united for oppression, so that the mutterings of the coming storm were heard long before it broke over the devoted heads of those who were to be swept away. The Nemesis of outraged justice overhung the ruling classes in France; "the kings that made for their peace were hid from their eyes," and Providence was in league with the party of which Voltaire was the head. They stubbornly refused to yield until it was too late. The lower classes so long outraged, rose against their oppressors, hardly stopping short of extermination. The principles of justice had been confused by the multiplicity of laws. The essence of Christianity was buried in a pile of dead forms; it bore no more resemblance to the religion founded by Christ than a mummy resembles a living man.

The history of France presents some curious anomalies. Her people have ever been distinguished for their patriotism and love of freedom, while her government has been for many centuries a strictly absolute monarchy. There are to-day more free-thinkers within her borders than are to be found in any other country in Europe; yet through the machinations of the clericals she is still a strong bulwark of absolute ecclesiastical authority and against the growth of liberal ideas. Nowhere are the forms of the Christian religion more scrupulously observed; nowhere is there less belief in its dogmas. The second Frederick of Prussia, the friend and life-long correspondent of Voltaire,

was quite as much an infidel as he; but the influence of the German king upon his subjects was of a very different nature from that of the French philosopher upon his fellow countrymen. The former was a man of fixed principles, a man of honor and integrity, and the latter was not. Frederick, if he did not consider Christianity better than other religions, thought it no worse; but from the whole course of Voltaire's life it was evident that he considered its influence to be only evil and evil continually.

Voltaire's youth was concurrent with those unfortunate years for France in which, exhausted to the last degree by long and in part disastrous wars, she was on the verge of ruin. It is almost impossible at the present day to form a correct idea of the desperate condition of the peasant class for a long time anterior to the Revolution. We must not look upon the Past with the quickened sensibilities of the Present; but in this case there is enough left after making all proper allowance to convince us that there must have been suffering "too deep for tears." In 1689, La Bruyère said: "One sees upon the fields certain wild animals, male and female—black or demi-colored and sunburnt. They root in the earth with unceasing persistence, and possess a kind of language; and when they stand erect one sees that they have a human face—in fact, they are human beings. At night they retire into caves and holes, where they live upon black bread and water and roots." Dark as this picture is, it had become still darker sixty or seventy years later; and one hundred years later, as is well known, the condition of French finances was so desperate that the administration of government under the old forms was no longer possible. Yet in the interval many peasants starved to death. During the years when the crops failed, they were sometimes found dead with the grass in their mouths with which they had vainly striven to prolong a miserable existence. There were provinces in which the poor peasant landholders paid in the aggregate ten times as much as the rich. In upper Burgundy, Alsace and Roussillon, half of the landed property was in the hands of the clergy; in the county of Artois and a few others, they owned three-fourths of it, all of which was practically exempt from taxation. In

some provinces, fifty per cent. of the produce of the earth was taken for the use of the government. The clergy received an additional share, to which was frequently added a further claim based upon the hereditary right of some noble—a lingering remnant of feudalism. Instances are cited where the peasant retained less than nineteen parts out of a hundred, after all demands had been satisfied;—in other words, the tiller of the soil, the rightful claimant to the chief part of its produce, received less than nineteen per cent. of what he raised, while the rest, or eighty-one per cent., went to the Church, the nobles and the government.* And yet there are good people among us who wonder at the feeling against the Church by the Revolutionist of '93! Such a state of affairs taxes human credulity to the utmost, even when attested by contemporaneous evidence. The horrors of the French Revolution look far less dark when viewed side by side with those systematically practised for centuries previously. The lower classes did not get even with the nobility when they exterminated them by a speedy death. The real Reign of Terror was previous to 1789. We are amazed that these things could continue so long and no voice sufficiently powerful to command attention be raised in behalf of the oppressed. The lives of millions of peasants were but prolonged torment. The clergy were not only, for the most part, indifferent lookers-on; but actually taught that this condition of affairs was ordained of God; and that in the next world only must compensation be expected for the privations endured in this. Need one wonder that Voltaire sometimes overstepped the limits of decorum when denouncing such outrageous teaching? It was well too, that he had private wrongs to avenge. We can even now hardly read the account of his treatment by the despicable de Rohan without feeling the blood course more swiftly through our veins. "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad" was never truer than when applied to the old nobility

* They seem to have thought otherwise in England. At one time when Wolsey wanted to raise a large sum of money, "the clergy, it is said, were expected to contribute a fourth; but I believe that benefices above ten pounds in yearly value were taxed at one-third."—Hallam, *Court Hist.*, chap. i.

of France. Talent and temper, education and experience, all wrought together fitly to prepare this man for the part he was destined to play—to make him “one of those destructive men of genius whom Providence throws headlong upon the old age of empires.”

Amid wide-spread misery, the clergy, protected by exemption from taxation, indulged in all manner of extravagance. In his letter from England, Voltaire tells us what he knows about this matter, though he often alludes to the same facts in his subsequent writings: “When the English people are told of our Abbés who, elevated to the prelacy by intriguing women, live in open unchastity, make amorous verses, give long and elegant suppers day after day, from which they go away to pray for enlightenment through the Holy Ghost, and who proclaim themselves the successors of the Apostles, they thank God that they are Protestants.” “But,” he adds in his characteristic tone of mockery, “these are miserable heretics, worthy to be burnt among devils; for which reason I want to have nothing to do with them.” We hardly know which to admire most, the humanity or the courage of the man who dared to raise his voice in protest against such a condition of affairs when others were silent. He spoke in tones that were heard by every government in Europe.

Voltaire did not withhold his admiration from a creed whose votaries practised what they preached. He pays a glowing tribute to the Quakers with whose peaceful tenets he was in full accord. He represented one of them as saying that the reason they do not go to war is not that they fear death, but that they are neither wolves, nor tigers, nor dogs, but Christian men. “Our God who has commanded us to love our enemies and to endure injustice without complaint, can certainly take no pleasure in us when we cross the seas and cut our brothers’ throats, merely because murderers in red coats, and hats two feet high, go about recruiting by making a noise with sticks upon the skin of an ass tightly stretched.” In speaking of governments, Voltaire says, that as men we are all alike, but not as members of society. “The best government is that under which all classes are equally protected

by the laws; and no country is fit to be inhabited where this is not the case." He is an incessant champion of the peasant class; the ever ready, even pugnacious assailant of the clergy and their privileges. Exemption of Church property from taxation he considers not only unjust but pernicious, and insists that monasteries shall be suppressed or greatly restricted. How much opinion in England was in advance of France in regard to this last point, may be inferred from the fact that as early as 1414, more than one hundred English monasteries were suppressed. In 1536, Parliament suppressed nearly four hundred smaller cloisters, leaving but thirty-two in the whole kingdom; and two years later a decree went forth, sweeping every one, large and small, out of existence. Yet in France the evil was endured or fostered, as the case might be, nearly two hundred and fifty years longer.

His three years' involuntary residence in England was of incalculable influence upon the future career of M. Voltaire. It made the life he had hitherto been leading insupportable to himself and led him to engage actively and earnestly in the long struggle to improve the political status of the oppressed class in France. As we know, he had from early life taken note of the glaring inequality existing among the subjects of the French crown; but he doubtless believed that the same state of affairs existed elsewhere. He was too patriotic a Frenchman to imagine that the government of his own country was worse than that of the other countries of Europe, or even as bad. What he heard and saw beyond the Channel opened his eyes. The rights of man are nearly or quite as fully recognized to-day in France as in England; but the difference between the two countries before the French Revolution was almost incalculable.

Voltaire thus gained the no small advantage of having an actual foundation for the reforms he so earnestly advocated. It was not a Utopian government that he labored to establish; for the principles that he sought to make effective at home were fully recognized less than a score of miles from the coast of France. We do him great injustice if we imagine his influence to have been wholly or chiefly evil. No just idea of

the man or his influence for good can be had apart from a knowledge of the times in which he lived. A power as great and lasting as that exerted by this man and by his memory must be based upon truth. The first men of France in intellect to-day are his admirers and enlogists. The defects of his character are gradually fading from view as time rolls on; but the prosperity of his country under the benign influence of the principles he labored all his life to bring to bear upon his countrymen, seems to be not only assured, but increasing from day to day. Need we wonder, then, that his grateful countrymen would inter with his bones the evil he did, and point with pride and enthusiasm to the good that lives after him? Yet Voltaire's talents were not of the highest order. He was not a genius, not a discoverer of new principles. His power lay not in the profundity of his thoughts, but in the keenness of his observation. His grasp of what was practical was firm, his comprehension thorough; and his ability to impose on the minds of others the convictions that he himself felt was only limited by the capabilities of the subject. He was well-informed and industrious, and the new facts that he accumulated from day to day he knew how to make subservient to the ends he had in view. The quality known among the French as *esprit* belonged to him in the highest degree, enabling him to make every subject upon which he wrote entertaining and attractive; nor did he ever fail to find something ludicrous in what would generally be considered the most serious things; and the charm of his style is such that he has no superior, perhaps no peer, in a country preëminently that of fine writers. By his indefatigable industry he wore out every literary opponent that entered the lists against him. His methods of attack were so manifold, his mental resources so inexhaustible, he was so unscrupulous in the choice of means, that his enemies never knew what to expect next, or on which side to guard against his attack. Before they had recovered from the effects of one blow, he dealt them another and another in such rapid succession that when the field of conflict was strewn with slain and vanquished, he alone stood unscathed. Not a few times during his life did he dishonor his

great talents by engaging in quarrels with persons he should not have condescended to waste words upon. He had a high sense of his own importance, and resented every insult and slight, real or fancied, no matter from whom it came. He admitted that when once offended he was implacable. Perhaps the only passage in his voluminous writings that might be called a confession is the statement, "I am of a character which nothing can bend; firm in friendship and in feeling, and fearing nothing either in this world or the world to come." This is not strictly true; yet it is interesting as showing in some sense his own estimate of himself.

It is doubtful whether the various judgments passed upon the influence of any man, living or dead, have ever differed so widely as they do in the case of Voltaire. By the Church, both Protestant and Catholic, he has been, and is still, branded as the bitter foe, yea, as the destroyer of Christianity in France;* by the liberals he is almost worshipped as the founder of civil and religious liberty. The former point to the defects of his character and the immediate results of his teachings as proof that there was nothing good in the man; the latter with equal assurance cite his bold and brave words for the rights of man, and the remoter results of his teachings as proof of the fact that the good he did far outweighed the evil.

As long as there shall be men in the world who regard the Bible as a revelation from the Creator of the universe, and others who deny this claim, each class will judge Voltaire as Tacitus says, "*ex ingenio suo*." The more we study his

* We will add here a quotation from Joubert in which Matthew Arnold says he "eminently shows his prime merit as a critic,—the soundness and comprehensiveness of his judgment:" "Voltaire is sometimes affected, sometimes strongly moved; but serious he never is. He had correctness of judgment, liveliness of imagination, nimble wits, quick taste, and a moral sense in ruins. He is the most debauched of spirits, and the worst of him is that one gets debauched along with him. If he had been a wise man and had had the self-discipline of wisdom, beyond a doubt half his wit would have been gone; it needed an atmosphere of license in which to play freely. Those people who gaze steadily down upon the influences which his spirit has shed abroad, find themselves in simple justice and duty compelled to hate him." To this Mr. Arnold adds: "as the real definitive judgment on Voltaire, Joubert's is undoubtedly the true one. It is nearly identical with that of Goethe

character and influence, the less we are surprised at the widely divergent estimates put upon them. Few persons have the time or inclination to examine the mass of materials necessary to a right understanding of him; and fewer still the requisite judicial impartiality for properly using these materials. The greater part of what has been written about him is from one extreme standpoint or the other. Voltaire was, in truth, so much swayed by impulses that it is almost impossible to discover any fixed traits in him. Even in matters that depend entirely upon the testimony of eye and ear witnesses, his biographer often feels at a loss. The manner of his death is altogether uncertain. Accounts of his last hours have from time to time been printed, purporting to be based upon the testimony of those present, asserting most positively that he suffered the bitterest torments of remorse. Others have declared with equal positiveness, and so far as appears, on equally good authority, that his spirit passed peacefully away; or that his indecisions were the result of his last painful malady. That he desired the consolations of the Church, adds little weight to either side of the controversy, for it was in keeping with many of his former acts. His indignation at the treatment of the body of his dead friend, Adrienne Lecouvreur, is well known. He did not want to share her fate. Yet, herein, he was manifestly inconsistent and unreasonable. Why denounce the Church for refusing to confer her chiefest benediction, in the supreme hour, upon those who during life have not ceased to deride her doctrines? The man who, when in health, ridicules all that the Church believes and enjoins is strangely inconsistent—unless his mental powers are impaired—if in the hour of death he seeks her blessing; or regards it a privilege to be purchased at almost any price, that his body be allowed to rest in consecrated ground. If the Church is based upon fraud and depends upon deception for her existence, it is hard to see how she can confer a spiritual benefit upon those aware of this fact. To the adept in Christianity, the benefits of the Church are too real and precious to be wasted upon the ungrateful. The sincerity of a man's life is in great danger of being called in question, if

in the hour of death he proves untrue to his former professions. In truth, however, quite too much stress is laid upon this point, and we do not believe that Voltaire's—or any body's—principles are to be tested by his conduct during his last hours. Nothing, surely, is more to be desired by every mortal than that he be, as Hamlet says, “fit and seasoned for his passage;” but the conclusion that a bad man dies unwillingly and a good one willingly is not warranted by experience. Heathen antiquity is filled with accounts of men who met death with composure; and yet they could not and did not claim to have made “their peace with God,” to speak in the terminology of the Church. Many men whose Christianity was never questioned, have manifested a great dread of dissolution; while it is notorious that nine-tenths of all the criminals executed in this country leave the world with a sure prospect of heaven, if we may believe their own testimony. The writer of this article heard it remarked not long ago, that the surest passport to eternal glory was evidently the gallows. Natural temperament, diseases and medicines have, singly or combined, a much greater influence upon last hours than is generally supposed. Many have a dread of dying, who have no fear of death.

Voltaire lived to a great age; and his wish to return to the bosom of the Church in which he was born, if it was not dictated by motives of policy, does not prove that he finally admitted the truth of Christianity. In his childhood and youth he had believed in doctrines which his riper years rejected; and it would have been no unusual psychological phenomenon, if he had at life's close, in all sincerity, returned to that belief. Upon several controverted points, “*neque adfirmare, neque refellere operæ pretium est*,” because neither would prove what is claimed for it.

Not only was Voltaire's life an unusually long and active one, but as a writer he was versatile and voluminous almost beyond parallel. His power of rapid production was greater than that of any writer of ancient or modern times, when the quality of work turned out is taken into account. He was a genuine child of his age—of that spirit that prevailed in

French society, though hidden from the casual reader of French history. But he could not keep the secret of its hollowness and hypocrisy, even at the cost of exile from surroundings that represented almost all he held dear. His intellect outgrew the influences of his early years; but his character did not and could not, for no man can wholly denationalize himself. If we judge him as he ought to be judged, as a Frenchman of the last century, we become disposed to overlook many of his shortcomings; not because the French were worse absolutely than the rest of Europeans, but because the nations that have been under the Roman *imperium* must not be judged by the Teutonic standard. Many a man of great influence in the past would exert little now. He who would win the sympathy of the masses must have some of the weaknesses common to humanity. We cannot close our eyes to Voltaire's great defects, to his pitiable weaknesses; yet we must be cold and unsympathetic indeed, if his burning hatred of political wrongs, of legal injustice, and his unrelenting pursuit of its perpetrators does not awaken our admiration. We read again and again the record of his unremitting labors in behalf of toleration, his self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of those who were suffering from the inhumanity and unreasonableness of the laws of his country, till we are ready with Lord Brougham to accord to him a place next to Luther in the history of toleration and religious freedom. Let us not withhold our due meed of praise even from men whom we would not place before the world as models, either to admire or to emulate.

ART. VI.—THE ECCLESIASTICAL QUESTION IN ITALY.

1. *Stato e Chiesa* di Sig. MARCO MINGHETTI. Per Sig. ULRICO HOEPLI. Milan: 1878.
2. *Della Libertà della Chiesa* di Sig. GIUSEPPE PIOLA. Milan: 1874.
3. *Pio Nono e il Papa Futuro*. Sig. BONGHI. Milan: 1876.

THE moment for studying the relations existing in Italy between the Church and the State, especially as regards their probable future and influence in Europe, could not be more opportune than the present, so soon after the election of a new Pontiff, who assumes the supreme government of the Roman Catholic Church under circumstances which we may safely affirm have never before existed in the long course of centuries.

If we go back to the earliest ages, we may indeed find the Roman Pontiff side by side with a king, co-inhabiting and reigning in the same city; but then both the government and Christianity had a mode of existence quite different, and the condition of society, in the midst of which the Church lived in those early times, bore no resemblance to the present. Nowadays, while authority has descended throughout in Europe from those heights which it once occupied, and tends more and more to diffuse itself and to depend on the consent of the people, the Church, but lately despoiled of the temporal power, affords the world the spectacle of an ever-increasing concentration of moral and religious authority personifying itself in the Roman Pontiff.

Still, the Church will not be able to escape from the novel situation in which the new state of society and the force of events have placed her, either in Italy, or in the rest

of Europe. The hour is come for her to demand the free exercise of those individual rights which, owing to the transformation going on in laic society, are, or necessarily will be, recognized by the political constitution of every State.

The conflict between the Catholic notion of the religious ordering of society and the popular notion of its civil ordering is so great that to some minds the co-existence of the two ideas seems simply impossible. This, however, is not the case if we consider how widely different is the matter to which the two opinions refer, and how vast the field before them. This very contest, even if more apparent than real, is certainly not calculated to instil confidence in an institution so bound up with old traditions as that of the Roman Pontificate. Can we wonder therefore if, on the morrow of so radical a revolution, it should seem to hesitate between a past which escapes it and a future which disturbs and troubles it? Perhaps this does not mean that it considers the damage inflicted on it by the former really preferable to that which it dreads from the latter; its hesitation is rather owing to a fear of the unknown.

On one hand, it is impelled and, judging by many signs, seems inclined to a closer contact with the people, detaching itself from the governments which are the authors of those laws on religious matters which disturbed its organism; on the other, it will not bring itself to reject all support from the political powers of the State, being uncertain whether or not it should avail itself of the protection of laws emanating from the civil Power.

To this condition of the Roman Curia correspond the contradictory opinions entertained both in Italy and abroad as to the line of conduct which in this new situation the different governments must hold towards the Papacy and the Catholic Church. Nothing can be more confused than the ideas and views that have directed parties respecting the Catholic Church in these latter times and that still continue to direct them; and the policy of the government is shaped according as one or the other party prevails in their councils. If we look at the substance of things rather than at the phrases which serve to color the system, it is evident that in

the very parties which are called *liberal*, a great scission has taken place. While some continue to consider liberty in the sense of the restriction of public authority as regards the manifestation and the action of each moral and religious opinion, others now understand by liberty the supremacy, through the civil power and its laws, of the opinions based exclusively on human reason over those founded on tradition, and, more especially, on Catholic tradition.

On one hand, we find the liberal economico-political school, which sees in the interference of the State in social affairs a threat and a peril for the liberty of individuals and associations; on the other, the historico-political school, which, deducing theories from facts, assigns a rather considerable office to the State, and regards liberty but as a means and not an end of the social and political constitution. Although especially averse to the Roman Church as being the most ancient and the strongest of all, this second school is hardly more favorably disposed towards the Protestant Churches. This is especially the case when they bear an official character as in England, and even in Germany, where that school has been for some time in great favor. All Christian sects should therefore hail with joy the struggle which the relations between Church and State have everywhere incited between the two schools. Far from being ill-timed and injurious, the struggle is one of the most useful and important that has ever engaged humanity.

It is much to be desired that these discussions may be beneficial in pointing out the means by which these parties may come to conciliatory terms and effect some provisional arrangement, so as to avoid the almost certain danger that the space between the two schools should be taken up by parties equally opposed and dangerous to both. The latter result would be lamentable, for at the bottom of every question of this kind lies the most important question of all—that of the liberty of the human conscience.

In Italy the struggle over that great question is not, as yet, so extensive and popular as it ought to be. It is confined to the thinking classes, and more especially to that of politicians. This is owing to many causes, the first of which is perhaps

that, contrary to what is often the case with the German races, this struggle in Italy has no root in the religious sentiment. In the higher classes of society, religion is but a form of philosophy; an ideal of the most elevated moral feeling; a something more akin to science than to faith. Whoever studies the Italians in these higher classes will find, instead of the growth of Catholicism, the offspring of the Renaissance, which was above all a return to laic and philosophical traditions. The majority of scientific and political men in Italy are hostile to the Church; not in a religious, but in a political and philosophical spirit. True, the multitude, especially in the country, are Catholic; but it is more the result of habit than of conviction. The working classes in the cities resemble those of the country, being Catholic in form rather than in substance. This, however, does not prevent one sometimes finding among them men full of ill-will towards the Church and her ministers. Another element is mostly composed of a large middle class, where one finds all the shades of thought from clericalism to incredulity.

As small as it is respectable is the group of those who sincerely profess the faith of their fathers, holding steadfastly to it both in their hearts and by their acts, but desirous of reconciling it as much as possible with civil progress. The properly militant portion reduces itself to the clergy and to a small number of the faithful; but whoever considers well the nature of the weapons with which they fight will soon discover in them also a spirit that is at least as political as religious.

This proves that the Italian mind is not more ascetical and mystical now than it was formerly. Never in the long course of ages were the Italians much given to purely religious discussions; from Roman times to the present day we do not find in Italy what is called religious passion. Even quite lately, while the dispute between Church and State was at its height, the Pope's threats and excommunications bore hardly any effect, and the efforts of the different Protestant sects to make proselytes, proved vain.*

* Signor Marco Minghetti, points out this fact in his recent work, *Stato e Chiesa*, and adds that the American Evangelical Church, the doctrines of which separate it less than any other from the Roman Catholic Church, and

Lively religious feeling engenders thirst for deeper studies, which in their turn heighten the religious feeling; but in Italy such a thirst has never been greatly felt nor appreciated.

Among the works published in Italy, literature and philology hold the first rank, which, in the newspapers, is held by politics. Germany, on the contrary, has entered on the struggle not only with a powerful mind, but also with deep study. If there be a subject for which the Germans have a marked passion, it is theology; in the statistics of their books printed in late years theology holds the first place, while in Italy it holds the last.*

We must not think, however, that the heat of discussion and the activity of parties have not assumed even in Italy a real importance; but they are confined, as we have already said, to the class of thinkers and of politicians.

To say nothing of the deep and lively discussions which took place in the Chamber of Deputies, especially those of 1871 and 1875, in which many distinguished champions of both schools took part, we may note as a favorable symptom a certain number of valuable and elaborate publications on this subject, such as those by Senator Piola,† and the very late ones by Marco Minghetti and by Ruggiero Bonghi,‡ the last two writers belonging to the present minority of the Chamber of Deputies and known for the important part which as ministers they took in public affairs in Italy previous to the 18th of March, 1876.

In the works to which we allude, as well as in the anterior discussions in the Chamber, the two opinions above defined had full and free development.

which is accustomed to live in the midst of freedom, earnestly set to making proselytes; but it was obliged to acknowledge its failure, as one can discern from its reports. The report of 1873 on the Italian Reformed Church says that Protestantism as a peculiar ecclesiastical system cannot take root in the Italian people, and it gives the reasons.

* In 1875, an Italian deputy, Prof. Liroy, read to the Chamber the following figures, showing how the taste for religious studies diminishes from year to year: Italian circulating libraries issued in all 54,491 volumes of religious, canonical and theological matter in 1863; in 1871, only 36,360 volumes.

† Piola, *La Libertà della Chiesa*.

‡ Minghetti, *Lo Stato e la Chiesa*; Bonghi, *Pio IX e il Papa Futuro*.

The partisans of the first, like Minghetti and Bonghi, holding firmly to the theory of the separation of Church and State, and intrenching themselves behind the authority of Cavour, approve in maxim the line of policy hitherto pursued by the Italian Government in the ecclesiastical question, and desire the destruction of the last remnants of the jurisdictional system in Italian legislation. The partisans of the second, among whom is Senator Piola, entertaining a high idea of the nature and offices of the State, reject the formal liberty of the Church and desire more or less the supremacy of the State, thus condemning the ecclesiastical policy followed until now.

Although the so-called progressionist party in power since the 18th of March, 1876, belongs in a great degree to the historico-political school, it has not succeeded in preventing the supremacy of the liberal school. The government become convinced of this last year, when the bill introduced by Minister Mancini on the abuses of the clergy, succeeded in receiving a small majority in the Chamber of Deputies, was opposed by the greater portion of the liberal press and finally fell through in the Senate.

Report said that that bill met with so much opposition because the idea by which it was inspired in some points, one of which was that of punishing the interference of the clergy in matters of conscience and as regards the peace of families, is deemed juridically too indeterminate and presents too much difficulty in the application. Such a motive might have concurred towards that end; but certainly it was neither the sole nor the principal one; and in that, as in so many other facts, is rather to be recognized the predominance of the liberal school to which we have alluded.

The moral and primitive laws which found great favor in Germany always excited an instinctive repugnance in Italy. A certain, and, so to speak, popular good sense led them in that, as in so many other cases, to ask if the penal measures directed against the priest, who has troubled another person's conscience, may not in their turn violate the liberty of conscience in the priest himself, who has a right no less sacred than the one which they want to protect.

Besides respect for religious liberty and the logic of principles, there are special reasons why Italy should follow the liberal system; first of all, in the great facts accomplished in Rome and the consequent transformation of the relations between the Holy See and the other powers. The very traditions of the Italian revolution marked out from the first its aim and its limits: the abolition of the Pope's temporal power; Rome for capital; a free Church in a free State. Italy has taken upon herself moral and binding obligations. The abolition of the temporal power, more especially directed to founding the unity of the country, contained a problem vaster than the country itself, on account of its general and international character.

"The idea of Cavour," said Signor Minghetti when President of the Council of the Chamber of Deputies in 1871, "the idea of Cavour was greeted with enthusiasm by all the liberals in Europe; and then appeared the truly great aspect of the Italian revolution and the task of our country in these times, for she brought to the world the actuation of a new idea—that of the separation of the Church from the State."

This idea was ever present in Cavour's mind in each step of his political career. In June, 1861, but a few days before his death, the hope that he might accomplish the great work which he had begun flashed across his mind. "Perhaps," said he, "I shall be able to sign at the Capitol another peace of religion, a treaty which will have for the future of society far greater consequences than the peace of Westphalia."

It is worth while to consider this point, for, with a view to lessening the prestige with which such an idea has surrounded Cavour's authority, many, both in Italy and abroad, have, since his death, commented upon the formula adopted by him, and, from subtlety to subtlety, have at last ended by throwing doubts on his sincerity.

The practical idea of offering peace to the Church on condition of the Pope's abdicating the temporal power was foremost in Cavour's mind when he displayed so much firmness and skill in the regulations which led to the annexation of the Roman provinces to the kingdom of Italy. Victor Emmanuel's letter to Pius IX in the winter of 1860 proves the existence

of that idea, and Cavour was very glad to assume the responsibility of it.

A letter written by Cavour himself to Count Vimercati at Paris, on the 4th of January, 1861, is no less remarkable. "I do not close my eyes," says he, "to the difficulties, the perils, which the solution I have imagined presents, neither do I hide from myself the difficulties which the realization of that solution must encounter both from Rome and from the nation. But, as in my opinion that solution is the only one possible, I think it necessary to put up with inconveniences and to face the perils and difficulties courageously so as not to shatter ourselves against what is impossible. Besides this I think that the tendency of the present age is conformable with that solution; I believe that the progress of ideas and the development of civilization must necessarily lead to it in a future more or less distant. Statesmen may defer or hasten, but they cannot prevent it. Next century the separation of the State and the Church will be an accomplished fact, accepted by all parties."

It is impossible to dwell, on this subject, and on the principles professed by this great statesman, without referring to his famous speech in the Chamber of Deputies in Turin on the 25th of March, 1861, in answer to Deputy Hudinot's interpellation as to his intentions concerning the Roman question. Our space being limited we shall quote but a few short extracts, chosen among the most remarkable:

"Whatever be the way in which Italy will reach the Eternal City, whether by mutual agreement or not, once at Rome and immediately on the declaration of the fall of the Papal Power, she will proclaim the principle of separation and will immediately carry out that of the liberty of the Church on the widest basis....

"The question of Rome is one the solution of which, must not only exercise a political influence, but must also have an immense effect on the moral and religious world....

"We must go to Rome without on that account lessening the true independence of the Pope; without allowing the civil authority to extend its power over the spiritual order....

"The independence of the Pontiff, his dignity, and the independence of the Church are guarded by proclamation of liberty honestly and widely applied in the relations of civil and religious society....

"The greatest misfortune which ever befell an enlightened people is that of seeing united in the same hands, in the hands of its governors, civil and religious power. The history of all nations proves that wherever this union took place civilization almost immediately ceased progressing, nay, it always went backwards; and this happened, whether a priestly caste usurped the temporal power, or a Caliph or a Sultan held the spiritual power....

"Everywhere the fatal union has led to the same results; then Heaven forbid it should happen in our day...."

Who can doubt for a single moment the sincerity of the statesman who uttered words so precise and explicit? Certainly, when expressing a general idea, he had not yet marked out the various parts of the system which he wished to inaugurate; he but gave utterance to his deep conviction of the necessity of proclaiming a principle which was to be carried out, a principle destined to conclude a lasting treaty of peace between civilization and religion, between the liberal spirit of the present age and its religious feeling.

It is not improbable that in producing that principle and in announcing that formula, *a free Church in a free State*, Cavour bore in mind the circumstances in which Italy found herself, and the opinion of Europe that accused the Italian Government of wishing to make the Papacy the mere tool of the new kingdom; but that does not disprove the existence of Cavour's conviction that the jurisdictional system was no longer in harmony with the present age, and that liberty alone could solve the difficult problem; neither is there any reason to doubt that the separation of the Church from the State, in the general liberty, was connected in his mind with an entire order of political, administrative and social reforms.

The grand design survived its creator. In Italy it was taken possession of by distinguished philosophers and writers, as well as by the political party that, succeeding Cavour, held the reins of government from his death, in 1861, to March, 1876.

Ricasoli, Menabrea, Lanza, Minghetti, Sella and Bonghi professed the same principles; and among philosophers and writers it was upheld by men of great fame and authority, such as Pantaleoni, Borgatti, Boncompagni, Matteuci, and espe-

cially by the great philosopher, Terenzio Mamiani della Rovere.

Cavour's design embraced three points: the abolition of temporal power; the guarantee of the Pope's independence and freedom; the end of the jurisdictional system and the separation of the Church and the State. The Italians have solved the first question: Rome is the capital of Italy. The second met with a kind of solution in the law of Guarantees. The third has as yet been solved only in part, and it is precisely on this point that party spirit runs high. Some would wish to recede violently; others to go forward boldly towards the complete abolition of the jurisdictional system.

Not that the party opposed to the abolition of this system and to the separation of Church and State is entirely united in its ideas and views. On one hand we find those (and they form the greater number) who content themselves with meeting Cavour's maxim with that of Bismarck: "Out of the State there is but the State, and in the State there is but the State;" on the other hand we see those who find both maxims equally fraught with danger, and who repeat with Petruccelli della Gattina that both maxims require amending and completing by changing them into this other one: "A responsible Church in a responsible State." Between these and the others are many different shades, gradations and distinctions more calculated to satisfy the curiosity of the student and inquirer than to be conceived and understood by the popular mind.

Perhaps this explains why popular sense in Italy is averse to sanctioning the theories of the authoritative school so highly in favor in Germany. Several distinguished men who belong, and who have always belonged, to the political party now in power known as the progressionist party, prefer, in this particular of the relations of the State with the Church, to remain with the large majority and with the old liberal party, now called moderate.

The third point of the liberal programme, namely, the complete separation of the Church from the State by means of the entire abolition of the jurisdictional system, has not as yet

found a solution, and it is the one which more particularly gives rise to difficulties and dissensions.

The fall of the temporal power on the entrance of the Italian Government into Rome is connected with another fact equally novel in history. We mean the law of the *Guarantees*, promulgated on the 13th of May, 1871, with a view to secure the lasting possession of Rome by reassuring the Catholic governments and nations that the end of the Pope's temporal power does not imply the spiritual servitude of the Church. Naturally, this law gave rise to great dissension, and this dissension still exists. Some consider the law as not only necessary at the time of its proclamation, but wise and provident for the present and the future; one which, when carried out in its true spirit, will be a pledge of peace for Italy and the whole of Europe. Others deplore it, and seek every occasion to elude and attenuate its effects, and, if possible, to get it repealed.* These persons discover a contradiction between that law and the ideal which the others form to themselves of the separation of Church and State; and, we must confess, such an objection is not wholly devoid of force. Indeed one cannot speak with any precision of separation, of liberty and of common right, when the ecclesiastical hierarchy has the privilege of right and of immunity. By virtue of that law the Pope is considered in the light of a sovereign; consequently he is inviolable, and enjoys all the personal and local immunities which belong to sovereignty, and has a right to the presence of a diplomatic corps at the Holy See. But for a full understanding of that law one must take into consideration the peculiar position of Italy at present, and more especially at that time, towards the Church and towards Europe; neither must we forget the necessities which dictated it.

The temporal government, which after more than ten centuries of existence had just been destroyed, had, for over three centuries, taken part in all the events in Europe.

* This is so true that in May, 1875, the party of the Left in Parliament, then the minority, moved a bill in the Chamber of Deputies tending directly to abolish the law of the *Guarantees*. But the Chamber did not allow it to be even read.

Indeed, it was considered so essential an element of the so-called equilibrium of European governments, that in 1815, when the fury of revolution and wars was over, the first thought was to infuse new strength into it. A whole set of doctrines had been given out to demonstrate that the jurisdictional system in Catholic, or partly Catholic, States was rendered possible only by the existence of a territory where the liberty of the Catholic hierarchy was complete; thence the necessity of a temporal power directed to guarantee spiritual independence in the other States.

In 1849, Odillon Barrot had said in the French Parliament, when speaking of the expedition to Rome: "*Il faut que les deux pouvoirs soient confondus dans l'Etat Romain, pour qu'ils soient séparés dans le reste du monde.*"

It is easy to understand that, so long as civil power could make use of its weapons against religious liberty, the Pope's temporal power should be deemed necessary, so that the Church might treat with the different governments on terms of equality. "Thus," writes Minghetti, "owing to its antiquity and to the reverence which surrounds the Papacy, to the interests bound up in it, to the theories invented to color it, and to the efforts made to maintain its integrity against the will of its subjects, its political dominion seemed in the eyes of diplomacy an unshaken dogma. This support once failing, perils were seen on every side; the Pope, a wanderer out of Rome like a sublime beggar, a danger to the tranquillity of the States which he traversed; or the Pope a prisoner in Rome; or finally, the Pope the tool of government, or, to use an old phrase, the Chaplain and Almsgiver of the king of Italy. If the hypothesis of the Pope's captivity was proclaimed aloud to trouble the feelings of the pious, the other was more influential in the different Cabinets, where it seemed that a king in Rome on confidential terms with the Pontiff, and who would use religious influences for furthering his own worldly ends, might gain such strength in the world as to overcome all resistance.

"From all these motives, Catholics saw with dread the moment approaching, which had already been foretold, when

the Italian armies would occupy the Eternal City. In anticipation of this event, an amount of ill-will was formed which might have given rise to very great difficulties in the new kingdom. On this account, it was necessary to quiet men's minds by giving full and sincere promises that immediately on the entrance of the Italians into Rome, and its becoming the Capital, the Papacy and the Sacred College would be reassured with guarantees such as would secure the full and independent exercise of the Apostolical ministry; thus leaving no doubts in the minds of Catholics that the decrees and responses of the Vatican were the true expression of what was then thought and deliberated upon.

"Such was the end which the law of the Guarantees had in view; and which, we can say, has been attained; for, in spite of clamors and quarrels, no one can doubt that the liberty of the Pontiff in his relations with governments and peoples, has remained untouched even after the fall of the temporal power." *

A law made under such circumstances could not incarnate the ideal of the separation of Church and State; in fact, considering it from the point of view of principles, it is far from satisfactory, as it is not in conformity with any clear system. It is not the system of separation properly speaking, for the State was unwilling to break all at once the old ties; it is not the system of a free Church in a free State, for the State will not readily and completely give up its own supremacy; neither is it the old system of jurisdictionalism; for if the State has still retained, nay, sharpened some of its legal weapons, it has thrown away a good many of them. It is an amalgamation of different things—the maimed principles of composition and half concessions; on one hand, the abrogation of a good many jurisdictional laws, including the ancient edifice of the Apostolic Legation in Sicily; on the other, the jealous retaining of the *placet* and *exequatur*, and the spiritual administration of the vacant benefices.

This leads us to affirm that the base of the Guarantees solved in some wise the second question contained in Cavour's *liberal*

* Minghetti, op. cit.

programme, namely, the guarantees of the Pope's independence and liberty; but that the third, the separation between Church and State, is still awaiting its complete solution.

Is it probable the Italians will soon succeed in reaching such a solution? This question is well deserving of attention. Such a step is counselled above all by reasons of equity. The temporal power of the Popes once fallen, Italy, in order to be just and to keep her promise, ought to be the first of all States to do away with the whole jurisdictional system.

Neither, in order to realize this, would it be wise to wait till the Roman Church should consent to make the formal declaration that she is resigned to the loss of the temporal power as a thing unnecessary to the exercise of her spiritual authority. This would be demanding of an institution of ages what would be difficult to obtain from any one. It is probable that Leo XIII, succeeding to St. Peter's Chair with only the triple crown and without the heavy burthen of worldly sovereignty, may find it less painful to give up all claim to a temporal power which he has never possessed. He may even be glad of it in his very heart; but there is not the least probability that either he or his successors will ever make any declaration amounting to a formal renunciation. One must know how to distinguish the person from the institution.

"An ancient institution," writes Signor Bonghi, "loses but in the course of centuries a belief which the habit of centuries has formed. An institution, which, if it has not always had during nineteen centuries the form which was attacked and beaten on the 20th of September, 1870, still maintained it more or less sure and perfect to within a few centuries, and in the previous intervals had proceeded towards it with a coherent and continuous development, cannot persuade itself either in seven or in seventy years that it must give it up. So we must neither be astonished nor vexed if believers in its future will be opposed both now and for a long time to come to the present state of things; and it must be deemed natural that all those who have lived in it should have difficulty in conceiving, and much repugnance in accepting, the wholly novel conditions by which from this time forth the life of an

institution, with which they are so closely connected, will be surrounded."*

To tell the truth, there is no reason to wonder that the Roman Church should be slow to trust in the liberty promised to her by the Italian Government in exchange for the temporal power. To keep her irresolute and to inspire her with fears, there are not only the disputes in theory as to the way of understanding liberty, and the explicit declarations of a part of the members of Parliament altogether averse to all liberty; there are likewise, from Cavour's death until now, a good many precedents of the government itself which are anything but encouraging. Those very politicians above mentioned, who in their writings and speeches warmly upheld liberty and separation, were, when in power, not very faithful in the application of those principles.

Baron Ricasoli, who succeeded Count Cavour as Prime Minister, and whose chief care was to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, on the 12th of June, 1861, said in his turn:

"We wish to go to Rome, not by destroying but by building up, affording the Church the opportunity for reforming herself, and opening the way by giving her liberty and independence as a means for her regeneration and as a stimulant."

But on his return to power, towards the end of 1866, Ricasoli is obliged to confess that till now but very little has been done towards attaining that end.

"The government," said he in his circular for the recall of the expelled bishops, "thinks of thus hastening the accomplishment of those relations of perfect liberty between the Church and the State which have until now constituted but a simple axiom of the politico-constitutional right of the kingdom; a right which it is to be desired should leave the abstract regions in which it has as yet kept itself and truly pass into the reality of facts."

In February, 1867, a bill was moved, *For the liberty of the Church and the sale of ecclesiastical property*; but it had no success; it was obliged to make way for the more administrative and fiscal, but in no wise liberal, law proposed several months later by Minister Ratazzi.

It will be remembered how great an agitation was excited

* Bonghi, *Pio IX e il Papa Futuro*, p. 148.

in the country by Ratazzi's brief ministry; an agitation which had so great a part in the unhappy attempt at Mentana, in October of the same year, and in the immediate return to a conservative Cabinet presided over by Menabrea.

This Cabinet, like the following one under Signor Lanza, failed in fully carrying out its good intentions. As to the second, it is known that, after having been in power a few months, it went to Rome, owing rather to the force of circumstance than to the ability of its chief.

Naturally all this was far from inspiring the governors of the Church with confidence or inclining them to trust in the promised liberty. Even though Minister Bonghi writes:

"We must not wonder at this seeming obstinacy. One would not be sincere if denying that, taking it as a whole, ecclesiastical legislation in Italy feels the influence of a spirit hostile to the Church, and crosses frontiers discreetly and rationally understood of the competency of the State in Church matters and of its due interference in regulating her. It may be allowed that, the Roman Curia taking its stand at one extremity of possible opinions in the relations between Church and State, the Italian Government has not stopped half way, but has approached and continues to approach the opposite extremity. Why this happened and was to happen is easily understood; to ignore it is like lawyers or journalists, but does not become historians or philosophers."*

But we must not draw conclusions against the normal order of things from merely temporary conditions. Mistrust and disputes may continue for a time; but the attrition will gradually diminish; passions will calm themselves and will be succeeded by order and peaceful co-habitation.

Who would presume to say that, however novel the condition of the society in which the Church is obliged to live, she may not end by sincerely submitting to it? History teaches us that she has always known how to assimilate to herself the new elements surrounding her, and after some reluctance and difficulty has taken deep root in them.

Many times she has submitted to the most diverse conditions of society. She has lived and prospered under the Roman Emperors who kept her in subjection; she has been feudal under feudality, republican under the republics of the Middle

* Bonghi, *Pio Nono e il Papa Futuro*, p. 147.

Ages, as in this century she is under those of the new world. The day that Italy will be so firmly consolidated as to render all belief in the restoration of the temporal power utterly impossible, the Church will readily accept the liberty which the Italian government will offer to her without restriction; but it is impossible to pretend that at this moment, and perhaps during the whole of the present generation, the distrust and restrictions on the part of the one who concedes liberty should not generate distrust and restrictions on the part of the one who accepts it.

"But if this reconciliation were impossible?" answer the upholders of liberal principles. Should it be so, should Catholicism truly be wholly incompatible with modern society and governments, it would not be a few jurisdictional precautions which could harmonize the flagrant contradictions. Such means are far too insufficient; history teaches us that where they have been used they have prevented nothing, repressed nothing.

Still more worthless would be the weapons of an open persecution, as they would be at utter variance with the prevailing order of ideas and feelings, and might even occasion a reaction dangerous to the cause which it professes to serve.

Liberty is a thing which must either be not accepted at all or must be accepted entirely; else it is not liberty. That class or that institution against which the restriction is made clings like a vindictive plague to the sides of liberty itself and inexorably condemns it to die. Besides, it would be unjust and absurd to invoke the Reason of State, that disgusting relic of despotism, to make restrictions when it is a mere question of liberty and justice.

We may learn something concerning this from France, where there is at present a clericalism more powerful than that of 1789, which is owing greatly to the fury of that Revolution.*

According to this hypothesis but one thing would remain

* The first French assemblies in 1789 went back to the old notion that religion is one of the most powerful means of government. According to them it was necessary to put her more and more in the hands of the civil authority and to make use of her by bringing her back to her primitive institution.

to be done: namely, to combat the Church with the weapons of liberty, by setting chain against chain, school against school, discussion against discussion, influence against influence, trusting in the power of truth.

This same conclusion is reached when, after considering things in the light of justice, one considers them as matters of logic and necessity. Since in the present state of society the coexistence of different religious beliefs and sects is inevitable, and since it is thought that the State must be equally impartial towards the men professing them, nothing but the judicial separation of State and Church can logically exist.

This separation is the natural consequence of the religious liberty proclaimed in all modern political institutions. It may be here and there retarded by acts of Government and of Parliaments; some States may uphold some particular Church and prolong the actual condition of things; but the future is irrevocably marked out.

Concerning this, Signor Minghetti expresses himself as follows in the work we have already quoted:

"Such will necessarily be the state of Europe for a time the duration of which can not be foreseen. During this time the most appropriate legislation for civilized nations will have to sanction the separation of the State from the Church, the freedom of every religious association, and finally the limits of their action towards the rights of others and towards those of the State. The effects of this separation under present circumstances must surely be better than the forced union of the Church with the State, which, although restraining the Church, would have to protect her, as happens under the jurisdictional system; or than union with some Churches to the exclusion of others; or hostility and persecution whether veiled or manifest against religious bodies; or persecution which would not further civilization by a single step; nay, would set all generous minds in opposition and rouse new conflicts. Finally, whatever be the religious form which the progress of science admits of and the revival of science accepts, it is certain that this end will be the sooner attained when all persons and associations shall feel free to develop that which they consider absolute truth and which their adversaries think error, but which is perhaps but a relative and partial truth."*

Speaking only of Italy, it were vain to seek in her present legislation all the necessary prescriptions for faithfully carrying

* Minghetti: *Stato e Chiesa*.

out the system of separation. Her legislation ought to complete and reform itself according to liberal principles, allowing no privilege to the Church, neither nursing feelings of suspicion and hostility against her.

This, however, does not please the followers of the opposite school, who, when it is a question of the relations between the Church and the State, would all, more or less, wish that the common right, instead of being amplified as is required by the principles of the new public right, should on the contrary be narrowed, and the Church allowed the least possible freedom. According to them, synods and councils ought not to be convoked without a previous permission of the State, under pretext that such meetings are not provided for in the Statute; both *exequatur* and *placet* ought to be maintained in ecclesiastical publications, to warrant their being regular in form and not exceeding the attributes of the ecclesiastical powers; Government should approve the election of the Church ministers in the same way that it approves the nomination of the directors of charitable institutions, of communal doctors and masters: it should maintain the appeal *ab abusu*; * in certain cases the State ought to deny the Church the right of property; it ought even to busy itself with her internal reform, by reconstituting the various administrations of ecclesiastical property, promoting the meeting of the Church deliberative assemblies and inciting the culture of the clergy. †

This school, confounding often the moral with the juridical order, society with the State, sees everywhere rights and duties incumbent on the latter. It assumes as the basis of every system that the fundamental function of the State is to provide for the material, moral and spiritual education of the people. Of all the elements which coöperate in moral education, the

* The appeal *ab abusu* is defined by canonists as an extraordinary judgment which appertains to the Prince by virtue of the protection accorded by him to the Church. When it is said that the Church must no longer enjoy any legal protection, it is a contradiction to pretend to maintain the jurisdiction concerning abuses.

† Such principles are maintained and developed by distinguished writers, especially by Senator Piola in his work *La Libertà della Chiesa*, by Sig. Raffaele Mariano in his two works, *La Libertà di Conscienza*, Milan: 1873; *L'Individuo e lo Stato*, Milan: 1876

most important being the religious element, the State would have the right and the duty of keeping it to itself. This evidently is assuming as beyond dispute, that the State is capable of judging between truth and falsehood in religious matters; that its duty is to defend the one and to repulse the other; and that, in the present condition of modern society, it should be provided with the means of doing so. It likewise supposes that the State has a clear idea, not only of what is imperfect in the old ecclesiastical system, which it would have to reform, but also of what should be substituted in its place. The question thus presents itself: What will be the religious ideal to which the State should aspire? Furthermore, the interference of the State in Church matters comes from mistrust, and this no longer agrees with the spirit of modern institutions. The whole jurisdictional system has this defect. It is too easily forgotten that in past centuries, when jurisdictionalism was in full vigor, the State made the Church concessions which it would no longer be ready to make, and entrusted her with important and civil functions of which it has now and for ever deprived her.

The reasons already brought forward meet what can be added in favor of concordats; a system wont to be called reconciliatory, as being a mean between the properly called theocratic and the jurisdictional systems. The supporters of concordats are indeed fewer in Italy than anywhere else. Such a system is most warmly upheld in Belgium and in France. M. Jules Simon, for instance, affirms in his work, *Liberté de Conscience*, that the concordat is the sole plausible solution of the question regarding the relations between State and Church;* and M. Laurent comes to the same conclusion, saying that, as the Church pretends to be a public power, it is useless for the State to declare that it does not recognize her and to feign to ignore her; that it is better to come to terms of concession, when concession is easier and more useful than the rigorous maintaining of pure right. But the

* Edouard Laboulaye answered him in a pamphlet remarkable for sense and vigor, which, with others equally worthy of notice, forms his work entitled *La Liberté Religieuse*.

historical example brought forward by Laurent as proving the reason of concordats, namely, the great Concordat between Napoleon the First and Pius the Seventh, might, if we mistake not, be rather taken as a proof of their inefficacy.

Who does not know that that Concordat lasted only so long as it pleased Napoleon to observe it? That he quickly made a law of the famous *articles organiques*, which the Pope constantly refused to recognize? In seeking the alliance of the throne with the altar, Napoleon showed himself the imitator of Pepin and of Charlemagne, for he sought in the Church a help towards governing more firmly at home and extending his own influence abroad. Who does not know that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the centuries *par excellence* of concordats, not only on account of their number, but also of their importance, were those nevertheless in which history enumerates the most frequent conflicts between Sovereignty and the Church of Rome? This is natural; concordats are, properly speaking, but the result of those conflicts. They are conventions which put an end to a state of violence which one party or the other, nay even both, called usurpation and oppression. Studying the origin of every Concordat, we generally discover it in a long struggle accompanied as usual by excommunications and interdictions. This struggle begins the very instant it is for the interest of one or of the other party not to observe the agreement. The greatest difficulties of such conventions are always to be found in complicated cases, that is to say, where it is from the first acknowledged that Church and State have an equal right to interfere. When it comes to marking out the limits, the two powers bring forward their pretensions, and the concessions vary, according as one or the other has the greater influence. In short, concordats are true exchanges of prerogatives between the contracting parties, and are more or less important according to the degree of relative strength or of mutual good will between them. But the good will lessens in exact proportion to the other party's increase of strength; thence comes the unstable nature of concordats.

Would it be prudent, would it be well-timed, to return to

the system of concordats, when the experiments made so lately were so far from successful? It is always dangerous to go backward and willfully ignore the lessons of the past; it is far better for both State and Church to face courageously the system of neutral liberty. The example afforded by the United States of America is rather encouraging than otherwise. Bancroft, the American historian, rightfully affirms that the separation of the Church from the State, by establishing perfect religious equality, had the marvellous result of afterwards meeting with universal favor.

The very experiment that is being made in Ireland, although it is still too soon for us to draw definitive conclusions from it, seems rather satisfactory.

"The experiment is short," writes Minghetti, speaking of Ireland, "nevertheless it ought to encourage our efforts, for, after so many gloomy forebodings, things, on the contrary, have turned out far more satisfactorily than was expected; and if the Catholics have no longer reason to call themselves oppressed, the Protestants have not on that account lost anything either in organization or in zeal."

Certainly, one must not be too ready to expect that the system of separation and liberty will render all attrition impossible in the future; but it is something to be able to predict with confidence that this attrition will be less sensible and injurious in its effects, and that instead of an ostensible reconciliation, desirable but not possible in the actual state of society, there will be a reconciliation in fact, which, while guaranteeing the rights of the State as well as those of the Church, will provide for the tranquillity of conscience and for the peace of society.

Vincenzo Gioberti, the Piedmontese, philosopher who took so prominent a part in the Italian revolution, expressed himself more than thirty years ago in the following words, which set forth remarkably well the practical side of the question:

"The future relations of the Pontiff with the liberal States are not to be inferred from those which it had in the past with the absolute powers in or out of Italy, any more than the new policy founded on religious liberty should be inferred from

the ancient, which had a wholly different basis. Times are changed. Civilization is increased; public opinion prevails; and the absolute separation of the spiritual from the temporal power is near establishing itself among the most civilized nations."*

In the meantime the conclusion to which it seems to us we can already come, whether we examine the question from a historical point of view or from that of the dominant ideas and feelings is, that even in Italy public opinion is ripe enough to reduce to silence the exaggerations of the extreme parties and to discuss with impartiality this new form of legislation.

Italy has lately furnished an important proof of her desire of faithfully fulfilling her liberal task in Europe, by having respected and caused to be respected the conclave which elected Leo XIII. This is all the more worthy of notice since the carrying out of the law of the Guarantees was on that occasion entrusted to a Cabinet composed from the party which was formerly averse to that very law. This means that it was not only the law but public opinion itself, namely, the liberal spirit of the majority of the nation, which offered to the conclave an absolute liberty and independence vain to seek in any of the former conclaves, not excepting those held in seemingly more favorable circumstances.

On opening the new Parliamentary session Humbert, the new king of Italy, could well pronounce to the assembled members the following words:

"The logic of justice and truth produces its beneficial effects. We have all of us in the midst of circumstances which even to us seemed extraordinary, been overtaken by an event that was expected and foretold as full of deep and obscure difficulties. The Pontiff, who during 32 years governed the Church, descended regretted and venerated into his grave, and the traditional rites which gave him a successor were freely observed without any disturbance to the tranquillity of the State, the peace of conscience, or the independence of the spiritual ministry. By upholding our institutions and by always reconciling the respect for religious beliefs with the firm defence of the rights of the State and of great principles of civilization, we have shown, and will continue to show, to the world, how fruitful is Liberty."

* *Rimmovento*, Tome II, lib. ii, cap. 3.

ART. VII.—CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

1. *The Southern States since the War.* By ROBERT SOMERS. London and New York: 1871.
2. *The Prostrate State: South Carolina under Negro Government.* By JAMES S. PIKE. New York: 1874.
3. *Report of the Joint Select Committee to inquire into the Condition of affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States.* Washington: 1872.

II.

THE relation in which the measures adopted after the close of the war placed the two races, which are joint occupants of Southern soil, undoubtedly engendered a great deal of sore and angry feeling; and as the conflict for supremacy waxed warmer, this feeling grew stronger and more even-tempered, finding vent in occasional outbursts of violence and crime, wrongs original and retaliatory, injuries and reprisals, much to be regretted and condemned beyond all question, and yet such as might have been predicted with the utmost confidence from the fatal course pursued. That struggle having terminated, however, other sentiments are beginning to prevail and old associations to reassert their influence. Not that we would be understood as saying that all soreness and bitterness have by any means disappeared. This is not conceivable in any community that has ever existed. All that we mean to convey is that, as time goes on, and the acerbity naturally arising from the antagonistic position into which they were forced, gradually subsides, the two races are drawing closer to each other again. There is a growing disposition on the part of the whites to judge more leniently of the blacks, to attribute

their undoubted faults and shortcomings to ignorance, incapacity and the effect of evil influences, and to remember rather the many motives that are strong to unite than the few that tend to divide them. Coupled with this, there is an increasing sense of the grave responsibility cast upon them by the presence in their midst of millions sprung from an alien and inferior stock, certainly in no degree responsible themselves for their original coming or their present position; a tendency to look upon them as objects neither of aversion nor of contempt, but as a great trust, as human beings placed in a situation appealing with peculiar force to the magnanimity of the more favored race. For the negro himself, the unnatural and purely manufactured interest in politics that so banefully distinguished him immediately after the war, is fast dying out with the incredibly extravagant illusions which fostered it; and the old sentiment of affectionate dependence on the white race, rudely interrupted, but never wholly extinguished, is beginning, in large measure, though under a somewhat modified form, to revive.

Meanwhile, the solution of the whole problem is still closely hidden from the most penetrating eye, and the degree of hopefulness with which the future of the race is looked forward to, varies greatly among their warmest well-wishers. Utterly unfixed as regards locality, the aimless drifting hither and thither of the negro masses renders any conjecture as to the movement of population to the last degree hazardous. Nevertheless, it is abundantly proven by the figures of the last Census that the African, though so much less affected than the white man by the calamities of war, fell very far behind his normal rate of increase in the decade from 1860 to 1870. Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri show a positive decrease; South Carolina and Mississippi an increase, respectively, of less than 1 and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; all the others a diminished rate of increase, as compared with that of the preceding ten years, not even excepting Georgia, which, however, approaches its former standard most nearly, declining in round numbers only from 21 to 17 per cent.

We are aware of the uncertain character of such estimates,

but their general bearing at least is unmistakable and is sustained by other more recent though partial statistics. It is certain that the growth of this class of the Southern population has been materially checked, to what extent we shall be betterable to determine after the appearance of the next Federal Census. Again, while there are a number of isolated instances in which they have succeeded in amassing property, sometimes to a considerable extent, these are not of sufficiently frequent occurrence materially to alter the general result. The mass remains in a substantially unchanged condition in this respect.

Among those best acquainted with the subject, it seems generally agreed that the rising generation of colored laborers are in a marked degree inferior to their predecessors, an inferiority the injurious effects of which are to some extent counteracted by the intermixture of a large proportion of "foremen" and "leaders" who, from their age and position at the head of families, exercise a preponderating influence on the whole body.

Meanwhile, as the ex-slave labor declines in efficiency and reliability, its place is constantly filling up with whites partly immigrants, but much more generally natives. The increased number of these latter engaged in the active manual work of agriculture produces an effect on the aggregate result difficult to estimate fairly. It is not their personal labor alone, though that in itself is a great element, but still more their supervision and leadership. The small tenant or proprietor who cultivates his land during the greater part of the year with no help save that of his own family, when he finds additional labor necessary, adds incalculably by his presence and example to the efficiency of his occasional hirelings. The quantity of land thus cultivated is large and steadily increasing, even in the cotton States, wherever the climatic conditions admit of it.

Immediately after the close of the war the emancipated slaves, naturally intoxicated with the possession of their new freedom, were impatient of anything bearing the least semblance of control. It was very difficult, therefore, at that time, to induce them to work at all, except on terms by which they

received a share in the crops raised by them. To labor as the hirelings of, and therefore responsible to and under the control of, another, seemed to them to differ but little from their previous condition of servitude. Hence a system somewhat resembling the *métayer* system so long prevalent in parts of Europe was generally adopted throughout the South. Its inherent vices, however, its inconvenience, its incompatibility with any enlarged or consistent plan of improvement, bring it constantly more and more into disfavor with the land-owners; while the increasing difficulty of making combinations among themselves, coupled with a not unnatural desire to realize more immediately the fruits of their daily toil, discredited it with the negroes. From these causes it is already becoming less general and seems destined in time to be entirely abandoned.

It is at present too early to pronounce with confidence upon the results, as regards the African race, of the system of public education recently established throughout the South. Doubtless there are many causes that interfere with its efficient operation. In the first place it was adopted with a suddenness that partook even of violence, and without any care being taken to smooth the way by preparatory steps, or to adapt it to the circumstances of the people among whom it was thus introduced. Partly in consequence of this, no doubt, great difficulty has been experienced in procuring competent and faithful instructors; while the general inexperience, inaptitude and mental slothfulness of the pupils have opposed obstacles hard to be overcome by the most indefatigable zeal and patience. Moreover, the financial pressure which bears with peculiar weight upon the South in her impoverished condition, very seriously retards progress in this as in all other directions. For statistical details upon this interesting subject, we refer our readers to the Reports of the U. S. Commissioner of Education and the various State Superintendents. They will be found to vary according to different periods and localities, but indicate on the whole that in spite of the prejudice of race, the pressure of poverty, and in many instances a sincere opposition to the system on principle, it has been generally

acquiesced in, and in not a few cases zealously aided and encouraged by, the whites. As to the number of schools with their teachers and scholars, the amounts expended upon them, the increase or diminution of enrolment and attendance, these documents afford sufficient information ; but on the more important points of the quality of instruction given, and the intellectual progress of the pupils, we have little to guide us.

So far at least, however, under the influence of the new system the negro has developed no capacity for the higher functions of social life ; and the cases are comparatively rare we believe, in which he has displayed a fitness even for subordinate situations in the educational corps.

Returning from this digression upon a theme hackneyed indeed, but by no means exhausted, to the broader aspects of our subject, we are confronted by the difficulty already indicated, of computing with any approach to accuracy the losses sustained by the South in consequence of the war. Yet some approximation to this will be necessary in order to mark the point from which her advance towards material recovery should be calculated.

By the most moderate estimate these losses can not be set down at less than \$1,125,000,000. If the value of the slaves emancipated be included in this, (and whatever may be thought of the ultimate result of emancipation upon the aggregate wealth of the community, the effect on the owners was the same as if a like amount of any other property had been destroyed,) it will raise them to at least \$2,750,000,000.

We have based these figures upon a designedly low estimate, so as to keep them within the strictest limits of truth ; and yet, so appalling are they, that the mind sinks in its effort to grasp and realize them, beneath a vast and indefinite sense of magnitude. Nor does this even approximate a full presentation of the case, for it takes no account of numerous items of loss proceeding partly from moral causes, and thus in their very nature incalculable.

In view of wide-extended ruin like this, accompanied by the summary destruction of their whole social and industrial system, the stupendous nature of the task that lay before the

Southern people on their return to the pursuits of peace may readily be conceived. Their previous training and habits had been in many respects such as elaborately to unfit them for it; and a thousand obstacles, some inherent in the circumstances of the case, others unnecessarily obtruded by unwise legislation, confronted them at every step. The privations, the suffering, the painful efforts, the constant disappointments which characterized this period can never be known or even adequately imagined except by those who witnessed them. Men accustomed from their earliest years to the comforts and advantages of a life of opulent leisure, trained in habits of profuse expenditure and boundless hospitality, were now compelled, often in the decline of life, to renounce completely the indulgences which custom had rendered almost indispensable. Tender and delicate women were suddenly forced into a stern struggle with poverty which not only tasked, frequently beyond the power of endurance, their physical strength, but of necessity deprived their existence of all that softness and grace which had previously been a part of their birthright. Scarcely even among the exiled *noblesse* of the first French Revolution could there have been a more sudden and trying change.

What wonder then if there were frequent and heart-breaking failures in this attempt to reconstruct the whole organization of society and system of life? What wonder if some among them lost heart and abandoned themselves to their fate; if a far greater number toiled on without hope until they finally broke down under the strain and died as literally the victims of the war as if they had perished on the field or in the hospital? Yet, as a rule, in spite of every difficulty natural and artificial, in spite of misgovernment and mistaxation, in spite of much individual suffering and many individual failures, the great mass of the people struggled resolutely forward towards the farther shore of the Slough of Despond.

The degree of success that has attended these efforts it would be exceedingly difficult, from the very vastness of the field of inquiry, to determine with any exactness; yet, that the progress made has been astonishing, in view of the numerous obstacles that opposed it, is established beyond the reach of

cavil. A single glance at well attested facts disposes finally of the charge of lack of energy and incapacity for grappling with practical difficulties so often brought against the Southern people.

A comparison of the assessed value of the property of eleven States of the Confederacy in 1865 with that in 1870, indicates a gain of more than \$500,000,000; while a similar comparison with the Census valuation in the latter year raises these figures to over \$1,100,000,000. We are far from placing implicit reliance on either of these estimates, but the lowest is abundantly sufficient for the purpose of showing the remarkable progress made under such exceptionally unfavorable circumstances; and forcibly recalls Macaulay's striking observations on the rapidity with which individual exertion, the efforts of every man to better his condition in life repair the waste and destruction attendant upon national calamities.

Since 1870, and more particularly since the great monetary crisis of 1873, financial embarrassments have clogged the wheels of industry throughout the country. In addition to these the South has had to struggle with numerous difficulties peculiar to herself; and has, we fear, been advancing on the path of progress with retarded instead of accelerated step. For full statistics we must await the Census of 1880, yet we are not without cheering, if partial evidences, of the gallant fight that has been waged during this period against every species of difficulty and discouragement.

Taking first the greatest of Southern staples, a glance at the statistics of cotton production will show how astonishingly it has withstood the shock of the war. If the reports received be correct, the present crop will go beyond the highest mark ever before attained, exceeding considerably five million bales. There can be no question that this result secured, in spite of the reduced production of the larger plantations, is due in great measure to the increased area cultivated in whole or in part by white labor. The plant, under the influence of changed circumstances, shows a tendency to migrate from the alluvial bottoms hitherto the chief seat of its culture, towards the uplands which are more favorable to the health and activity

of the Caucasian race. The introduction also of the South Carolina phosphate as an improver, is said to have extended the area of profitable cotton-raising more than a degree to the northward.

It has been conjectured that, had its natural progress not been checked, the annual production of Southern cotton fields would by this time have reached 7,000,000 bales. This may well be true; but if the generally unfavorable conditions, including the prolonged financial pressure, be taken into account, the result actually attained must be pronounced wonderful in itself and eminently creditable to the energy and skill of those engaged in its culture. Upon this latter point and by reason of the mistaken impression widely prevalent in regard to it, we would call the reader's attention to Mr. Somer's remarks.

Turning from the cultivation of cotton to its manufacture, the result is in a high degree satisfactory. The infant industry, in spite of manifold and exceptional disadvantages, makes steady progress. We give a few of the most striking statistics in regard to it, from which the reader can draw his own conclusion. The Graniteville factory in South Carolina, during the period from 1868 to 1878, increased its production rapidly and continuously, with the exception of two years; paying in one year a dividend of over 26 per cent., and an average annual dividend of nearly 11 per cent. Its surplus increased from \$6,664.27 in 1868, to over \$480,000 in 1878, while the expenditures provided for out of its gross profits amounted in nine years to \$330,000. Nor is this an isolated instance. In the same year in which a dividend of over 26 per cent. was declared by the Graniteville Company, the Augusta (Ga.) and the Tallahassee (Ala.) factories declared dividends of twenty per cent. each; while the Langley (S. C.) Manufacturing Company surpassed both and nearly reached the exceptionally high figures of the Graniteville. Starting on a capital of \$100,000, this establishment had in 1877 already realized more than \$325,000 in profits—a result obtained in a period of less than six years. In the season of 1872-3, the Columbia (Ga.) Mills consumed 7,428 bales of cotton; in that of 1877-8,

12,792 bales; while their estimated consumption for the present season is 15,000 bales. Similar investments are reported as highly profitable in Wilmington (N. C.); while the Chattanooga manufactures in Tennessee are said to have more than doubled the profits of agriculture and the value of real estate in that vicinity.

It is needless to multiply instances, as we have already given quite enough to indicate the remarkable growth of this branch of industry at the South, and the rapidity with which, under favorable circumstances, it may confidently be expected to develop in the future.

The sugar interest, though apparently a much greater favorite with the Federal Government, has recovered far less rapidly and is by no means in so healthy a condition. Upon the causes of this, Mr. Somers makes some pertinent suggestions which we commend to our readers' attention, as also his view of the so-called protective system and its effects on the industrial interests of the South. His opinions are conveyed in no doubtful or hesitating tone, and coming as they do from an intelligent and well-informed foreigner, may meet perhaps with a more respectful hearing than if they proceeded from one more directly interested in the question.

A certain obstinate conservatism, producing great reluctance to vary in any respect their old modes of industry, has been made a charge against the Southern people as also a lack of sustained energy and practical sagacity. There may be somewhat more of truth in this accusation. The quality is a note-worthy characteristic of our English ancestors as well; and though liable to be pushed to objectionable extremes, is not without important uses. Yet, not to mention the manufacture of cotton already noticed, there have been various industrial enterprises inaugurated, or at least quickened into new life at the South since the war, which go far to vindicate her from reproach on this head. Among others may be noted the manufacture of paper, of oil-cake (made from cotton seed), and of woollen goods, which latter more than four years ago already employed nearly four hundred factories.

As an instance of the immense impulse given to mining and manufacturing industry, the growth of the town of Birmingham, in the coal region of Alabama, may be cited, which within three years from the date of its foundation possessed four thousand inhabitants and several large manufacturing establishments. Indeed, a future of fabulous wealth, drawn from her magnificent mineral treasures—treasures in extent and ease of acquisition absolutely unparalleled—seems to lie before this State. We will hardly be thought to have exaggerated in this, if it is remembered that her coal lands embrace an area of about 5,500 square miles; which it is estimated could not be exhausted by a moving power equal to that of Pennsylvania, within less than two thousand years, and that a plentiful supply of iron is to be found close at hand.

The lumber trade (a successful and growing industry in many of the Southern States) and the fruit trade are doing much to build up the prosperity of Florida. Immigration has begun to flow in and wealth to increase, despite the obstacles with which unwise Federal legislation has thickly strewn the path to recovery. This path was at all events a less arduous one for Florida than for most of her sister States of the Confederacy, from the fact that she had been less severely visited by the calamities of war. Still more eminently was this the case in regard to Texas, the geographical position of which secured her exemption alike from the most disastrous military and financial results of the struggle. The figures in which her strides in material prosperity have been stated are such as almost to stagger belief. It is estimated that her population, already exceeding 2,000,000, receives an annual addition by immigration of from 250,000 to 300,000. Her cotton crop alone is valued at \$30,000,000, her other productions annually exported at nearly \$20,000,000. Conceding the probability that these estimates are somewhat exaggerated, we have the most unimpeachable private testimony to her rapid increase in population, and still more rapid increase in wealth.

Georgia, less fortunate than either as regards exemption from the wasting hand of war, affords on that very account a

fairer standard by which to measure the recuperative energies of the Southern people. Her actual growth has been sufficiently astonishing. What it would have been but for the blighting influences that have checked all natural development in this great section of the Union, must be left to conjecture.

In South Carolina, again, so mercilessly harried by the vultures that followed in the wake of war, an improvement surpassing the most sanguine expectations has taken place since the inauguration of Gov. Hampton. We have not space to lay before our readers the mass of testimony from various sources going to prove that the work of recuperation, which five years ago might well have been supposed relegated to the next century, is already in full progress. The correspondent of a Northern paper, after affirming that he had "sounded all phases of republican feeling," goes on to say: "The concurrent testimony of all these republicans, white and black, is the most sweeping commendation of Governor Hampton's course, and the most implicit confidence in the man."

We have before us, in addition to other similar testimony, private information of the most reliable character, to the effect that though no great advance in a pecuniary point of view can be reported, the social and political improvement of that State has been greater than any of its citizens had ventured to hope for; and that the people, in spite of all that they have undergone, are addressing themselves resolutely and hopefully to the task of rebuilding their ruined industries. Encouraging progress has been made in manufactures, and while the cotton and rice crops, formerly almost the sole reliance of South Carolinians, have not been abandoned, strenuous efforts are being made to introduce new sources of wealth. Among other prospects, high hopes are entertained of making the cultivation and manufacture of jute profitable branches of industry. The discovery of the famous Charleston Phosphate at a most opportune moment, when the sorely tried spirits of the people were beginning to faint under their accumulated burdens, did much to save them from complete despair. The mining and

manufacture of this fertilizer has already developed into a highly important industry. Though yet almost in its infancy, a larger amount than the whole banking capital of the city of Charleston is said to be invested in it.

In Arkansas, on the other hand, notwithstanding the encouragement of favoring legislation, manufactures seem thus far to have made little progress. Yet immigrants are coming in as well from abroad as from other parts of the country; and the State on the whole, in spite of her heavy indebtedness, is in an improving condition. This is indicated by the growth of her cities and by the sound condition of her agricultural interests, despite the deep depression which affects all the industries of the country.

Turning from this State of comparatively recent origin to the oldest of American commonwealths, the hardest and least imaginative mind can scarcely fail to be struck by the picture it presents. Not only did Virginia suffer incomparably more by actual invasion than any other member of the Confederacy, but the large proportion of her property destroyed by the war, concentrated as it was within her present contracted limits, together with the vast amount of her indebtedness, public and private, have proved almost insuperable obstacles in the way of material recovery. Moreover, she lacked the advantage which the cotton States possessed in the large stores remaining to them, even after the wholesale plunder of their great staple, following on the advance of the invading armies, and the high price which it commanded in the period immediately succeeding the return of peace.

Nevertheless, though staggering beneath her burden like an overweighted racer, Virginia has not faltered in her course. No candid critic with adequate opportunities for observation could withhold the tribute of admiring sympathy from the gallant and resolute conduct of her people in the midst of so many misfortunes. Yet their efforts have but too closely resembled those of a shackled giant or a mammoth struggling in a quicksand. The immense resources of the State, agricultural, mineral, manufacturing and commercial, her genial

climate and grateful soil, have been constantly foiled of their legitimate effect. The energy of man and the bounty of nature have alike striven in vain against the artificial impediments thrown in their way. The heavy burdens upon her principal industries, the pressure of a ruinous tariff, the rapid decline in the price of her chief staples, have constantly obstructed improvement and discouraged immigration. The mere rate of State taxation affords no fair standard by which to judge the amount annually collected from her people. The local burdens are very heavy in addition to the crushing weight of Federal taxation; while such has been the shrinkage in values of every kind that quantities of land are every year exposed for sale again and again, and withdrawn for want of purchasers at the proportion of its assessed value required by law to be obtained; and personal effects levied on for non-payment of taxes have been sold at such fabulously low prices that we scarcely like to task the credulity of our readers by repeating them.

Among other causes, a very deficient circulation has done much to bring about that extreme cheapness of land which seems to have impressed Mr. Somers so strongly in his travels through Virginia. The deluge of Irish encumbered estates, he assures us, was nothing compared to it. And then he goes on, in a passage which we especially commend to our readers, to sum up the advantages it presents to emigrants from the old world, and particularly from England and Scotland. These latter, he says, "will find a population scarcely distinguishable from their own countrymen in anything;" while all may more easily acquire "either small or large farms, without greater change of circumstance than probable in any other part of the United States."

This passage refers more particularly to the agricultural interest. As regards mineral wealth, we have among numerous others the eminent authority of Professor Lesley, who says that here "the limestones of the Lower Silurian, holding the brown hematite ores, directly abut against the coal beds of the carboniferous and sub-carboniferous eras," thus wonderfully realizing the ideal conditions of successful manufacturing.

It would seem impossible that a region possessing such varied advantages could be kept in a permanently depressed condition; and accordingly we find that, in spite of all the obstacles we have indicated, in some localities rapid progress has been made. The capital, notwithstanding the thick-coming misfortunes, which have well-nigh earned for it the title of the City of Calamities, has steadily advanced in wealth and population. Norfolk, too, has roused up to a sense of her almost unparalleled advantages and the advisability of turning them to account, and has taken a new departure in the line of prosperous activity. In the space of a few years she has risen from an insignificant beginning to the third, if not the second, place among the cotton ports of the country. In the interior, Staunton, Lynchburg and Danville give cheering indications of healthful vitality. All this is in a high degree creditable to the energy and perseverance of the people; nor does it admit of doubt that under more favorable conditions far greater progress would have been made. At present the State resembles a strong swimmer encumbered by weights, whose utmost efforts barely enable him to keep his head above water. True she may have encumbered herself imprudently, in her desire to develop her resources, but that is irrelevant. Remove her weights, and she will soon pass the point of progress anticipated by the most sanguine. Then she could easily bear and in time liquidate the constantly increasing debt which now benumbs her energies with a sense of hopelessness, and reduces a traditionally honorable and high-spirited people to the verge of despair.

We have felt justified in dwelling at some length upon this part of our subject because of its historic interest as well as its present importance; but our space hardly warrants further details in regard to individual States. To sum up: the first and most threatening political peril of the South has passed away. The way in which the negro will most likely be dangerous in future is as an element for the support of which opposing and nearly balanced parties among the whites will bid against each other. At present welded into a compact mass by the pressure of common perils and sufferings, there is practically but one

party among these. But it is not in the nature of things that this harmony should last; and when the inevitable division comes, the temptation to demagogues on both sides to purchase this vote by unworthy arts will be well-nigh irresistible. It is a point which intelligent and patriotic Southerners can scarcely guard too jealously.

Materially, the crying wants of the South are population and the capital requisite to develop her resources. The possibilities of future greatness to the section uniting in itself the production of the raw material and every facility for its manufacture are beyond conjecture. Untold wealth lies within sight, but not within reach, securely stored away in a casket which opens only to the golden key of capital; and this key is precisely what the impoverished section is unable to command. Instead of receiving any assistance in the herculean task of self-restoration, it has suffered under a course of absurd and vicious legislation unexampled in any similarly enlightened age and country. Its veins were shrunk, its limbs palsied by want of that healthy circulation of currency, the office of which in the body politic has been well compared to that discharged in the animal system by the ebb and flow of the blood; while, so far from any aid being afforded, its every effort at relief has been persistently frustrated. Meanwhile, the iron hand of protection, with its grasp on the throat of industry, threatens to suspend the functions of life itself. There is not even the wretched excuse to be given for this, that the interests of one section are promoted at the expense of those of another; for in effect the real interests of an overwhelming majority of the whole people are sacrificed to the personal and temporary advantage (if indeed it be an advantage) of a favored class. Seldom can Burke's pithy saying that "a great empire and little minds go ill together" have received so impressive an illustration. The complete overthrow of this system, together with the adoption of a wiser financial policy, will go far towards restoring Southern prosperity.

Again, the construction of great inter-State lines of communication tending to develop the commerce of this section

is of the highest importance, and is dictated alike by justice and sound policy. And here we would suggest that wherever there is a reasonable doubt of the right of the Federal Government to extend such aid, it is far better that the question should be authoritatively set at rest by an amendment to the Constitution, than that any doubtful power should be assumed.* There can scarcely be a worse habit in a system like ours than that of straining the Constitution to meet particular cases or transgressing its limitations for objects however desirable and important. Precisely in proportion as an appeal to force to sustain it becomes more and more fraught with difficulties, does it grow more and more essential that its limitation shall be scrupulously respected. But whatever may have been originally the more correct theory in regard to this question, a point upon which we do not propose here to enter, there can be no doubt that it is utterly inconsistent both with the spirit of the Constitution and with equity to withhold such aid from one section of the country while bestowing it lavishly upon others. It will take much, very much to redress the balance and place the different portions of the country on an equal footing in this respect; and it would be well for those with whom the responsibility of decision rests to ponder the preamble of the Constitution they are charged with executing, and remember that "to establish justice" is the only certain means by which to "ensure domestic tranquillity."

As might be inferred from what has gone before, the social changes in the communities under review have not been less striking than the material. Let the reader picture to himself the home of a wealthy Southern proprietor before the late war. Throughout the whole establishment there reigned

* We must demur to the judgment of our contributor in this particular. While the wisdom of establishing great lines of State inter-communication is sufficiently obvious, one may reasonably doubt the wisdom of the policy which would devolve the expense of it on the general Government. It is not just to burden the Nation with taxation for the sole benefit of a section. It seems more in accord with equity that the States in need of great high-ways of commerce should undertake the construction of them themselves, as the Empire State has done. The industry of one section has been taxed for the benefit of another already too long and too much.—
EDITORS.

an abundance that savored of profusion. The domestics might almost literally have been said to tread on each other's heels; the stables were filled with pleasure-horses; the board groaned under the weight of viands. Nowhere was there any thought of stint or saving. In no community (as has been well remarked by an intelligent and appreciative Northern critic) has there ever been so constant and general an interchange of social intercourse as among Southerners at that period. It was not only a striking feature of their social life, but an element of great importance in their education. Here, too, was developed in a very high degree, among slave-holding proprietors, the old English love of country life. The wealth and culture of the community were not centred in the cities, but diffused throughout the rural districts. In Virginia especially, this English characteristic was pushed far beyond the English limit. Among no people, at a similar stage of civilization, has the relative importance of the urban element ever been so small. Liberal, however, and even profuse as was the style of living, there appears in it a singular absence of ostentation. The owner of thousands of acres and hundreds of slaves would, as a rule, be attired with the utmost simplicity; the furniture of his house would be plain, the appointments of his table of an entirely unpretending description. If any personal extravagance was visible, it was in the number and quality of his pleasure-horses, for which the national taste was peculiarly strong.

All this is preëminently true of the older and more distinctively English among these States. It was indeed a society *sui generis*, and no observer who has had an opportunity of inspecting closely its peculiar characteristics can ever forget them.*

Could a foreigner familiar, for instance, with the interior

* The author refers here, of course, to the condition of the ruling caste. There is another side of the picture on which he does not dwell, the condition of the poor whites--the idle, dissipated, long-haired, knife-belted slave-catching and slave-trading whites, by no means a small class, and the squalid haunts of despairing and oppressed negro men, women and children. The condition of these classes constituted the dark shadow of Southern life, which it is not pleasant to dwell upon, and but for which society in the South would have rivalled the Utopia of More.—EDITORS.

of an old Virginia household, revisit it now, what a striking contrast would it present to him! Instead of throngs of servants, there are perhaps a single man-of-all-work, who besides his domestic duties is also at times a farm-laborer, and a female to fill the place of dining-room waiter and chamber-maid combined. Instead of the well-filled stable and carriage-house, there are left, in the proper sense of the term, no pleasure-horses at all; while a pair taken from the farm, at such times as they can be spared, draw a vehicle of the plainest and least expensive description, in place of the old luxurious family-carriage. The head of the house, perhaps far advanced in life, is engaged in a constant struggle for which his previous habits have completely unfitted him against the numberless difficulties of his position. He has been shorn of one-half, perhaps of three-fourths, of his land, and has with difficulty rescued the *Stamm Schloss* of his family. His house, not improbably, is ready to tumble about his ears for lack of repairs; his furniture is going to pieces; his yard and lawn, which it was once his pride to keep in the neatest order, have fallen into neglect. Offices, outhouses, farm-buildings, all show by their condition the altered fortunes of the owner. But there are yet sadder changes within. The children of the house, if children there be, know little indeed of the careful tendance and sedulous training of which they would once have been the objects. Poverty forbids the employment of instructors; their elders are too busily engaged in the struggle with the wolf at the door to give more than the leavings of their time to the task of education; and besides, the children themselves, as soon almost as they emerge from babyhood, are pushed prematurely forward, into the battle of life. There can scarcely be imagined a sharper contrast to the easy, abundant, genial life of the past. In the coarse dress of the children, in the faded and threadbare garments of the parents, even in the homely fare, the great change would be everywhere visible. But to the acute and sympathetic observer, its saddest token would be found in the worn and furrowed countenances of the old, the prematurely grave and anxious expression of the young.

And yet in the midst of so many changes there is some-

thing left unchanged. In spite of adverse circumstances and ruined fortune and uncongenial occupation there still survive in the best specimens of the antique Southerner the same union of ease and dignity which constitutes the most exquisite finish of manner, the same genial courtesy, the same chivalrous sensitiveness to honor and shame which have ever been characteristic of the race. These are the relics of former days. What is to succeed, is a question equally difficult and important to answer.

The obstinate tenacity with which races cling to their peculiar traits assures us that much of all this will remain despite the deluge which has passed over Southern soil. How far and in what directions it is to be modified will depend greatly upon the influences surrounding the generation now taking shape. Certainly these are little favorable to that higher education which, in the period just preceding the outbreak of war, had received so great an impulse at the South. Indeed the conditions of life there at present render systematic education of any sort difficult of attainment. Yet this difficulty like the many others that accompany it is by no means without its uses. So far from destroying it, has in many minds but served to quicken and intensify, the love of learning; as is strikingly indicated by the condition of that renowned University, the offspring of Jefferson's old age, and the *alma mater* of so many of the first educators of the land, which has withstood with such signal success the shocks of war and revolution. It is now acknowledged to have led the way in this country whither the whole course of the higher education tends to develop, and a future full of the noblest promise is before it. Nor is the horizon, overcast though it be, without other hopeful tokens; but upon these we have no space left to dwell. In conclusion then it seems to us, that after an impartial survey of the whole field it is impossible not to be struck with the sobriety, the self-control, the political sagacity, the unconquerable resolution which this people have displayed in the terrible ordeal through which they are passing. Whatever their errors, whatever the sufferings they may yet be called upon to endure, certainly they can have no reason to dread the sternest enforcement of

the law that "the fittest shall survive," while the future historian may most justly apply to the South the words which the Roman poet has placed in the mouth of Rome's greatest foe:

*"Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso
Ducit opes, animumque ferro."*

We regret that the author of the above article, a Southern gentleman, and an esteemed contributor could not have devoted more space to the relation of the whites and blacks at the South, and given us the facts in regard to the alleged intimidations in the late election. And yet, for any omission in that regard we must assume our share of the blame, since we prescribed the limits within which he should confine himself. In a private letter to us the author says:

"I have had to leave out much that I would have liked to say to you * * * in regard to the condition of things among us. Could you talk with our negroes here (I speak for Virginia,) you would see how much we have been misrepresented in regard to freedom of elections, justice before the courts, &c., &c., as well as in respect to the *material* comfort, and even cheerfulness, that prevail among our former slaves. Nothing could be more desirable than that those who would not, I am sure, do any intentional injustice to us should know the *real* facts of the case."—EDITORS.

ART. VIII.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART.

1. *Lübke's History of Art. Translated from the Seventh German Edition.* Edited, with Notes, by CLARENCE COOK. 2 vols. New York : 1878.
2. *The History of Ancient Art. Translated from the German of JOHN WINCKELMANN.* By G. HENRY LODGE. 4 vols. Boston : 1856-73.
3. *Ancient Art and its Remains.* By C. O. MULLER.
4. *Discourses on Architecture.* By EUGÈNE EMMANUEL VIOLLET-LE-DUC. Boston : 1875.
5. *Kügler's Handbook of Painting. The Italian Schools.* Ed. by SIR CHARLES EASTLAKE. 2 vols. London : 1874.
6. *Kügler's Handbook of the German, Flemish and Dutch Schools.* By J. A. CROWE. 2 vols. London : 1874.
7. *A History of Painting in North Italy.* By CROWE AND CAVALCASELLE. 5 vols. London : 1871-74.

II.

WHEN Christian painting was at length called forth from the catacombs, it burst into a powerful and splendid activity. The walls, altars and cupolas of the vast basilicas and other churches were now adorned with gorgeous pictures, though often displaying wretched taste and crude ideas of art. It was soon felt that the work of the brush was too light and thin to fill the great spaces and support the solemn dignity of these structures, and thus, as early as the fourth century, an art was applied which originated in the antique, but now rose to a loftier development under the new requirements. Mosaics,

hitherto restricted to pavements, were now used upon the altars, galleries, and even the lofty vaults. The art could not compete with painting in lightness and play of design, and was wholly incapable of the softer charms of expression; but early Christian art was insensible to the clearness of physical beauty, and sought only powerfully expressed types of the sacred figures—such as should irresistibly impress the beholder and fill him with awe and reverence. To this end mosaics were especially adapted. One result of this mode of artistic expression was the hitherto neglected strict architectonic arrangement of space; but the law of decoration, all important in ancient works, was set aside for a strict harmony of forms. In this regard great skill was displayed; and while beauty and grace were sacrificed, dignity and grandeur were acquired.

When, in the sixth century, the new culture at Byzantium reached its greatest splendor, the influence of Byzantine art went forth to all the world. The Church was now supplied with a canon of forms and figures, and a perfectly mastered technique worked out in magnificent details. Oriental feeling demanded pearls, gold, silver and jewels, for the decoration of altars and shrines; a gold ground was employed in mosaics, instead of the blue ground hitherto used; and the minute pieces of which the vast wall picture was composed, broke up the light into countless reflections and produced a dazzling, brilliant effect. The figures themselves abandoned the statuesque calm peculiar to the West; the laws of physical development were ignored, and grandeur of effect was sought by drawing out the human form to a disproportionate length. A set type of countenance was adopted, and the attempt to express grave and dignified composure only resulted in making the faces harsh and unlovely. But the Byzantine painter was usually a monk; he had no knowledge of nature or of the world, and therefore substituted the sickly ideal of his unnatural life for the truth that is founded in universal laws. Byzantine art, at first vigorous and lively—since it was a reaction by the Greeks from the tyranny of their Western masters—gradually fell beneath that Oriental spirit which we have seen,

in earlier times, to blight every pure art impulse; and the history of its degeneracy is clearly traced in the subsequent mosaics, manuscript illuminations and ivory carvings. The figures, and even the compositions, became conventional. All that a new artist could do was to reproduce the works of his predecessors, and thus the artistic power became merely mechanical skill. Yet Byzantine art survives to the present day, and from the monastery of Mount Athos, where this school of religious artists has existed in an unbroken course for thirteen hundred years, a countless number of "sacred pictures" go forth into Greece, Turkey, and Russia. Even certain Western races find this barren style most congenial to their feelings, and in Naples, to this day, a fruit-seller will have none but a Byzantine Madonna, with her stiff neck, sickly complexion and vapid countenance, hung up on the walls of his booth.

Before true mediæval art could be evolved from all this chaos, a new religion arose on the rocky, barren plateau of Arabia; the hosts of Mohammed swept forth with fiery enthusiasm proclaiming, at the sword's point, the doctrine of the one God. Living in a boundless and dreary desert, with no varied outlines, no rich vegetation to teach the laws of form, the art-impulse of the Arabs was totally undeveloped. A law of Mohammed, moreover, forbade the use of all pictorial representations. Yet the passionate, poetic nature of the Arabs was singularly susceptible to beauty of form and splendor of color; and when, within a century after their uprising, they had spread their empire from the Ganges to the Western Ocean, they quickly felt the influences of foreign art, and adopted for the most part the styles which they found existing in the conquered lands. Their style of architecture, as they came to develop one, was thus a mixture of different elements; and the restless unsatisfied nature of their minds displayed itself in an art full of fluctuation and arbitrary whim. "The architecture of the Arabs exhibits exactly the same combination of sharp contrasts which belong to their intellectual nature; bold, dry exteriors with fantastic and over-ornamented interiors, monotonous, dreary masses, and an enchantingly va-

riegated, brilliant ornamentation ; a death-like rigidity, and an inexhaustibly rich life."

Mohammedan architecture developed from religious needs. A spacious hall for prayers, a separate holy place for the Koran, a large court with a fountain for ablutions, minarets whence the summons to prayer can be sent forth—these are the indispensable parts of every mosque. But from these first principles Mohammedan art has never risen to any universal or definite model for its sacred structures. The artistic sense of the Arabs was too fickle and playful to establish new constructions in architecture ; but this very mobility led them to add many original devices to architectural tradition. In the intricacies of their columnar arrangements, they seldom used the old semi-circular arch. Their fancy demanded bolder and more complicated forms, and they invented the aspiring pointed arch, the horse-shoe arch and the wedge-shaped—in all of which forms appears the Oriental fancy for rich, flowing, luxuriantly swelling lines. In covering their structures, they imitated the early Christian basilicas, or the Byzantine system of domes. But they also originated a form of vaulting which most aptly expressed their character, since its design was to afford a pleasing transition from a plain wall to a vaulted one, or from a square to a circle, by means of light, stucco-made, exquisitely fanciful decorations. Their ornamentation forms no part of the development of the architectural framework. The walls are profusely covered with the charming play of an inexhaustible fancy. The figures of the animal and vegetable kingdoms are introduced, only to resolve themselves by mazy and elusive lines into geometrical figures ; while the restless and ever-varying combinations of dissimilar forms produce that perfectly bewildering style which is called arabesque. Yet all this wealth of adornment is for the interior alone ; the outside is generally treated with severe simplicity.

In Spain, Mohammedan architecture exhibits its richest efflorescence, its greatest splendor of harmony ; in Egypt, under the influence of the deep impressiveness and solidity of the works of the Pharaohs, it attained a surprising greatness ; in Turkey, it is characterized by the grandeur of its domes

and pointed arches; in Persia, its chief features are high portals and rich minarets, a pleasing realism in ornamentation, and the use of soft, cheerful tints; while in India, the imposing and massive proportions of the exterior vividly contrast with the fairy-like splendor, the dreamy Oriental charm of the inner decoration.

In the meantime, the attempt of Charlemagne to revive the arts in the West, had resulted, at last, in planting the germ of a new development. Through the artists and artworks which he had gathered together from Byzantine and Lombardy, his barbarians attained a knowledge of the productions of civilization; and the monks, to whom alone he could intrust all matters of art in that age of conquest, formed schools from which graduated architects, sculptors, painters and artisans. But the rude, fresh vigor of the Northern races could not yet tame itself to the gentle labor of art; the Germanic mind rebelled against that political unity which the Frank had established on the old Roman model; and it was not, therefore, until the fall of the Carlovingian Empire that the new epoch of art began. The tenth century is the true beginning of the Middle Ages, and the first period, extending to about the middle of the thirteenth century, is called the Romanesque.

The new art arose amid conditions totally unlike those of all previous stages of development. In the ancient world, the different peoples developed independently, side by side, each working out its own peculiar spirit, while, at last, the Roman domination crushed all individual freedom and tyrannically directed all development. Now, indeed, all nations united in vigorous growth, in mutual development, and Christendom gave to all the same starting point and the same goal; but its supremacy did not fetter the individual; it bestowed upon him the greatest freedom and the utmost power. Thus arose great fundamental laws, held by all peoples, yet in no way checking the fullest development of individual national peculiarities. The Church was now the sole depository of learning, and her monastic establishments, in this period of rude turmoil and fierce strife, were the asylums of high

culture, from which all the arts and sciences were diffused. Side by side with this religious system flourished the institution of chivalry, and the mingling of these elements impressed a hierarchic and aristocratic character upon the times. The State thus became a feudal union, as different from the despotic unity of the Roman Empire as from the republican league of Greece. A chaos of rude contrasts resulted, of mystic piety and harsh worldliness, of fierce valor and womanly tenderness; while the teachings of the Church only served to intensify this elemental strife. The fresh, young nature of a rising people loudly asserted its claims; while Christianity imposed a higher spiritual law, by which all the outgrowth of man's nature was pronounced sinful. The harmony between man and nature thus being destroyed, he was tossed to and fro between wild passion and deep remorse, fierce sensuality and intense spiritual devotion.

In architecture which, throughout the Middle Ages, led in all the higher forms of activity, the results of these conditions are most apparent. By this art, more than by any other, could the bold thoughts and lofty aspirations which filled men's minds be expressed. A free development was long denied to sculpture and painting, by the unsettled state of the times, by the bitter opposition of Christianity to the impulses of nature, and by the rigid church tradition, which forced the artist to be content with simply copying the ancient types. These arts were thus wholly dependent upon architecture, which gave to them their laws, and made them subordinate to its own principles of symmetry and rhythm.

Under the new impetus, architecture soon manifested tendencies directly opposed to the principles of Roman art. The old Christian basilica was its starting point, for this was universally considered the canonical form of a church edifice; but it gradually underwent a series of remarkable changes, till at last it was transformed from its ancient rudeness into one of the most perfect creations of architecture. First, the ground-plan was greatly modified. A boldly projecting transept was often introduced to separate the nave from the choir; and the choir itself was greatly enlarged to make room

for the increasing numbers of monastic clergy. The breaking down of all barriers between the different classes of the laity resulted in leaving only a small vestibule before the main portal—for all must have free admission to the house of God. Towers now became an important feature, flanking the grand main portal, one on each side; and in conventual churches galleries supported on columns were erected, where the abbess and her nuns might have a retired seat. These modifications of the ground-plan led to new forms in the development of the architectonic structure, especially in the introduction of solid piers in place of columns.

This simplicity of construction, however, did not long suffice. The old flat roof had been retained, and frequent fires destroyed the rafters and wooden ceiling, and ruined pillar, column and wall. A more durable material also, was made necessary by the damp and changeful climate. The architects now applied themselves to covering the basilicas with vaults instead of the old wooden roofs; and in this attempt to combine vaulting with the place of the basilica, they effected an entire revolution in the art of building, a complete rupture with the ancient methods. Through the successful solving of this problem, the basilica received an entirely new character; its separate parts no longer stood in striking contrast to each other; the vertical and horizontal, the supporting and supported, passed from one to the other in graceful, flowing lines; and the whole interior attained a higher rhythmic organization.

The details of Romanesque architecture display great diversity of style. Its treatment of the column was utterly severed from the ancient method. In Greece, the orders of architecture were the structure itself—whether Doric or Ionic; they constituted the monument, and could never be interchanged. The Romans used these borrowed orders simply as decorative means, in no way essential to the structure; they moved the columns back against the walls, and used them as buttresses, and in building more than one story they simply piled the orders one upon another. The Byzantines restored the column to a true and useful function, yet simply as an

accessory member, in supporting open arches in their walls. But the Romanesque artists closely allied the column to the structure of their edifices, and made it an indispensable member. In doing so, however, they entirely disregarded the antique proportions. They considered the column simply as a vertical support, to which they gave greater or less height, according to the function it was called upon to perform, without regard to those fixed relations between the diameter and height that were established in the ancient orders.* Sometimes it is thick and clumsy, sometimes slender and graceful; and both shaft and base range in style from the severely simple to the purely fantastic. The development of the capital is a marked feature. Antique forms were at first copied, but were so unsuited to the Northern mind that a new and essentially Romanesque form was devised—the cubiform capital—by which a skilful transition was effected from the round shaft to the square abacus. Another invention was the calyx capital, and the two were often ingeniously blended. Miniature columns are often inserted in the massive piers and along the arches of the arcade, to give a lighter look to the solidity of the one and the broad spans of the other. The exterior of the Romanesque church is built in plain, grand masses; but with an infinite variety and fertility in the use of towers, windows, friezes, lisenés, and mock arcades, which can only be appreciated by a close study of examples, and which make the structure totally unlike in character and appearance any religious edifice of previous times.

Over the entire structure was spread an unrestrained richness of ornament. Vegetable forms were lavishly employed—vines, flowers and leaves intertwining the capitals and cornices in marvellous beauty; but their foliage is never a direct copy of nature. Linear decoration in infinite variety and brilliant profusion; human and animal bodies and creatures of the wild Northern imagination—all prove how vast was the separation from the scholastic spirit of Roman antiquity, while exhibiting the inexhaustible wealth and freshness of the Northern mind. Their entire church architecture, indeed, breathes the uncon-

* Viollet-le-Duc's *Discourses on Architecture*.

querable vigor of the German nation; through all its members and devices flows the independent feeling of this proud and rising people. Equal freedom and novelty are shown in the use of painting—the walls, ceilings and vaults being covered with the figures of Christ and the saints. The deep, solemn tone of the interior, strengthened by the somber light from small windows of painted glass, withdraws the worshipper far from the busy world, and fills his soul with a holy calm.

In the latter half of the twelfth century that restlessness which is characteristic of all mediæval art seized upon the Romanesque architecture, which, while it still held firmly its fundamental principles, and even unfolded them with the utmost brilliancy and freedom, was now greatly impaired by admixtures of foreign forms. This Transition style, standing between the pure Romanesque and the Gothic, resulted from the demand for more elaborate and elegant works, for essential grace and beauty. The monastic domination had been thrown off; chivalry flourished; cities felt their wealth and power; commerce brought knowledge of other lands; and the crusades opened a path to the brilliant learning and architecture of the Orient. Eastern forms at once appear in Western art, especially the pointed and trefoil arches. But the Western taste, while adopting these lighter elements, gave them a new and deeper meaning. A constant struggle appears for slenderer proportions and richer construction; while the striving after greater effect now pervaded all detail, producing a brilliant finish in the execution and decoration of the different parts. From this stage issued the final development of the Romanesque style, creating often a beauty in which it attained its legitimate, free and noble growth; but often, too, expressing a fantastic, purposeless motive, and yielding more to a decorative caprice than to the harmony of a genuine accomplishment. Finally, Romanesque architecture, as it spread over Western Europe, underwent such modifications as arose from the peculiarities of national life. In Germany, where it took deepest root, it held closely to the development of the basilica and kept itself free from fantastic exaggerated tendencies. In Italy,

the common central thought running through all the German creations is missing, and a marked divergence distinguishes the several groups—the early Christian basilica form, Byzantine and German models standing side by side; in France, there is also a spirited variety. But a marked devotion to classical forms is seen in England; the use of wood and the adoption of certain elements of an earlier epoch give a distinctive national coloring; while in Spain the influence of Mohammedan art added to the solid grandeur of the Romanesque the brilliant and lively play of Moorish details.

The character of the Romanesque period was not favorable to the development of the plastic arts. This is largely dependent upon the freedom of the individual and his importance in the community, both of which were now limited by the conventual and the corporate element. The practice of the fine arts, moreover, was confined mostly to the clergy, and beyond the horizon of the monastic cell the artist seldom looked. Early Christian tradition still imposed its tyranny, and Christian art still sought to be only a moral teacher. The same old images appear—the same narrow circle of symbols; and conventional signs and emblems were necessary to a comprehension of the work. The antique elements, on which early Christian art was founded, were still further distorted and misconceived by the rude German mind. But after a while the foreign plant became acclimated and the rich virgin soil of the North produced a new growth, still characterized by antique conceptions of form, but expressing the fresh, original movements of the German spirit.

Sculpture, from the first, received a severe canon of style, through the adherence to tradition and the close relation in which it stood to architecture. The study of nature was ignored, since Christianity saw nothing in nature but what was sinful; and thus the antique conception prevailed until constant practice had fitted one's powers for an appreciative study of natural objects. Sculpture was devoted to the Church, from which it received, indeed, the widest field of activity, and which gave also the greatest scope to the artists in choice of subjects. Not only were all sacred figures admit-

ted, but great use was made of legendary lore; and there abound personifications of the sun, moon, seasons—allegorical figures of virtues and vices, sciences and industries, and the fabulous forms of sirens, centaurs and griffins. Animal forms, indeed, are always an important element in mediæval art, where symbolism holds so high a place; but this unnatural straining of nature soon bewildered the mind, and the lion came to represent both Christ and the Devil. This fantastic web of symbols is woven about one grand, fundamental idea—the fall and redemption of man. The subjects are set before us in series, and the individual form is wholly unimportant but as connected with the deep, significant whole. The treatment of this sculpture, which here reaches a grand depth of intellectual delineation, is solemnly earnest, full of dignity, and severley typical. But the same striking and universal mental development that was effected in architecture does not appear in sculpture; individual genius finds here a greater freedom of action, and thus—while the works display every variation of skill, from clumsiness to delicacy and dignity, there is seen an all-pervading difference between the works of Italy and the Northern nations.

Germany led the North in freshness, variety, and animation. This was due not only to the strength of the German character, but also to the great prosperity of the nation under the Saxon emperors, the manifold relations in which it stood to Italy, and the admission of Byzantine influences, which were of great importance in the development of skill in the minor arts. The existing remains show, at first, traces of the Carolingian period—an antique style of treatment, but displaying a germ of fresh life. Another tendency followed, based chiefly on Byzantine models, which produced greater simplicity and regularity. Yet the dry and rigid character of this style forms the basis of a higher and freer development, when again the antique is accepted with renewed vigor and enthusiasm. The growth of cities, the crusades, the frequent journeys to the East, filled the old forms with fresh and noble vitality, resulting, in many cases, in a beauty and purity which reveal a keen sense of form and a lively sensibility. The ivory carv-

ings are especially noticeable, as this form of art was extremely popular throughout the whole Romanesque period. They usually display much of the dignity of ancient art, especially in the drapery; while there is often a childlike lack of skill in the treatment. Byzantine influence is very marked, owing partly, doubtless, to the fact that Otto II married a Greek princess. In a good specimen of this work, that emperor appears, with his wife, Theophanu, receiving a blessing from the hands of Christ. With the richer development of the period, work in ivory and bronze gave place to sculpture in stone and stucco, exhibiting a steady and consistent progress from clumsiness and utter disregard of nature to a singular mellowness and an almost classic grace.

The transition from sculpture was effected by decoration in enamel, the numerous examples of which show a highly picturesque charm and great brilliance in execution. In the field of painting proper, the existing miniatures afford the fullest illustrations of the various stages of development. Here, also, the earliest works are Carolingian in feeling, displaying a barbaric imitation of the antique. The illuminations were not copied from nature, but from traditional types. The figures stand out from a bright background, and are set in some architectural design, generally a pillared arcade. With the Greek alliance of Otto II, late in the tenth century, Byzantine art works were introduced into Germany, and their delicate style of workmanship at once obtained a controlling influence. A fixed canon was now adopted; the scale of colors became richer from the use of middle tints; but the distribution of colors followed a general law of harmony, rather than regard to nature, and the hair and beard are often found painted green—a color which was as much a favorite with the Germans as azure was with the French. Toward the close of the twelfth century, illuminating, affected by the growth of chivalric poetry, appears in a new style. Together with the splendor of the earlier works, their melancholy and harshness disappear. The new miniatures are simple pen-sketches, black and red outline, with slight filling, but much better adapted than the older works to trace the flights of fancy and ex-

press the poetic power of imagination, while they also form a natural transition to a freer field for the portrayal of the emotions. And, indeed, art soon developed broader effects in the wall paintings of the churches. It was customary to paint the whole interior of churches, and thus give them an expression befitting their sacred character. Against a background generally blue, a simple, strong figure-drawing stands out in bold colors. The outlines are rather coarse; but the pictures are often full of meaning and clever incident; while single figures sometimes reach a very respectable grade of art.

Italian art, in the Romanesque epoch, while generally following the laws of development observed in the North, yet opened an independent path which led it to widely different results. In the eleventh century, art here was divided between the extreme rudeness of the native, and the complete degeneracy of the Byzantine style. But with the beginning of the twelfth century, an era of national prosperity dawned upon the country; the Roman Church arose from her degradation to rule once again the West; a new social element appeared in the free townships; and from the general awakening gradually emerged a new and independent style in art. At first, this seemed like "the barbaric dissolution of all artistic form." Sculpture threw away the old canons without establishing new, and exhibited the rudest, mildest realism. Even at this early date, however, appears that self-consciousness of the artist which so powerfully aided in the elevation of Italian art; and the maker's name is boldly paraded on even the most uncouth productions. By the thirteenth century the new movement assumed a greater decision of character. The revival of bronze-casting had given a great impetus to sculpture, which, throwing off the Byzantine incubus and returning to classic models, now attained a new canon of style. At this moment appeared Nicola Pisano, who revived the splendor and power of antique art, and whose work was "a renaissance before the Renaissance." The classic grace and vigor, the proud and conscious beauty of his figures were ill-suited to the Christian devotion and humility which were his subjects; and in the next age there was a natural reaction against this glorification

of the antique. But the sense of beauty and truth had been aroused; Nicola Pisano had bestowed upon his national art an imperishable good, and a broad sound basis for all after developments.

Italian painting, meanwhile, was in slavery to the Byzantines. This stiff, sterile, mechanical style is occasionally broken by a burst of fresh life, or a touch of the antique; and towards the close of the twelfth century, a sound style originated, indeed, in the severe magnificence of Byzantine form, but turning also to the truth and beauty of nature—was lastingly established by Giovanni Cimabue, the founder of modern Italian painting.

In the last period of the Romanesque style there arose an intellectual movement which sought to throw off the shackles of tradition and find an unrestrained development for the powerful feelings of the times. This revolution was not everywhere equally decisive and speedy. Germany, hitherto the leader in art as well as politics—when it was simply a question of the development of Christian ideas—now yielded the foremost position to France. The great work of this era was to be the vindication of the rights of the individual against the priestly rule, and France was eminently fitted for the leadership of this movement, both because she had held no such close relations with Italy as had Germany, and because chivalry had there enjoyed a more rapid and brilliant growth. Yet the movement was universal in Western Europe, though in some quarters it had been late and feeble; for while, in France, it clothed the new spirit in a guise wholly novel after a brief struggle with traditional forms, in Germany and Italy it contented itself with simply a richer and more brilliant adaptation of Romanesque forms.

The spirit of the Gothic age appears in all the branches of culture. Surely, though almost unconsciously, it strove to free the individual from the yoke of the priesthood, while yet there was the utmost loyalty to the Church. The age was even more credulous and devout than the preceding one; but it was no longer satisfied with the dry husks of priestly dogma. It sought a deeper insight into the grand truths of religion;

it must grasp them with the spirit, and give them appropriate expression. A peculiar tenderness, a boundless aspiration filled the newly awakened spirit of the people. The rapid growth of Mariolatry turned the popular heart into a sacred love; while the sentiment of earthly love was raised to a lofty height of purity and delicacy by that profound reverence for woman which chivalry developed. Out of this spirit came the rise of a national poesy, whose youthful glow and enthusiastic grace have proved a fadeless charm. The barbarous Latin of the time was discarded for the fresh, vigorous, though rude, mother-tongue. In all things the national spirit became conscious of its own existence and arose to a deep, intense life. Art speedily felt its mighty influence, and architecture first of all. This now acquired a new, bold and original form, expressing in marvellous structures the subtlest thoughts and deepest emotions; while the delicacy and grace of the whole, the freedom and grandeur with which it soars aloft, gave full poetic expression to the loftiest aspirations.

The transition, then, from Romanesque to Gothic was the work of the people. Hitherto art had emanated from monastic walls, but towards the close of the twelfth century men began to use their own minds; theology, philosophy, nature and art were freely investigated; enlightened men tended more and more towards the encyclopædic spirit and the application of the exact sciences. Monastic influences now disappeared from the history of art, and architecture, falling into the hands of laymen, soon abandoned the Romanesque traditions. There was formed in all the cities of France a nucleus of artists, a purely lay school—a sort of freemasonry, drawing its inspiration from itself, and holding to the liberty of the workman, while never turning aside for an instant from the line of progress it had marked out. Gradually this school became so powerful that it held the realm of art against both priest and king; these employed the artists, but could not govern them. In a quarter of a century it transformed both the fine arts and the industrial, and was called upon to build the château, the town-hall, the palace, and even the very convent from which it had so fully emancipated itself. The path was now open before

it; principalities and powers, crowns and mitres lay at its feet. All the excellencies and defects of its spirit were thus freely expressed in its works—its tastes and preferences, its hatred of injustice and oppression, and even its love of satire. Never had an art-style so unrestrained a sway; never did one rise so quickly to such glorious heights; never did one fall so soon. So thoroughly did it maintain its independence, that when its liberty became license there was none with power to check it. And it was by license that at last it fell; for the idealism of the period degenerated to mere sentiment. Art spent its strength in efforts for mere external effect, and forced its principles to an exaggerated and unnatural development, its workmanship to an unnecessary perfection, and its science to the last limits of possibility.* Within half a century Gothic architecture arose in its resistless might, reached a marvellous height of splendor, and turned upon its downward path. From the year 1350 Gothic art gradually declined, until the fifteenth century brought that powerful reaction toward realism and the antique which swept away the spirit of mediaevalism.

As the origin of the new style is to be found neither in the exigencies of worship nor utilitarianism, but in the striving for an æsthetically artistic ideal, so in its results it was free, light and bold in character, and peculiarly slender and beautiful. Its principles may be briefly enumerated as follows: "Equilibrium obtained in the system of construction by active resistance opposed to active forces; architectural effect, the simple result of the structure and the practical necessities of the work; decoration, derived simply from the local flora; statuary, tending to the imitation of nature and seeking dramatic expression." To their complete revolution, the pointed arch was one of the most potent aids. This form is found in Egypt in the ninth century; it became a great favorite with the Mohammedans, and had been largely employed throughout Europe, but its use hitherto had been simply decorative. It was never made the fundamental law of construction, nor do we ever see vaulted roofs, arcades and windows worked out by its use, except in the Gothic style of

* Viollet-le-Duc's *Discourses on Architecture*.

architecture. The use of this form allowed the architect to give different heights to the individual arches, and to carry arches of different width to the same height. This abolished the necessity for the square division of the vaulting imposed by the Romanesque and previous styles. Thus the ground-plan was subject to less restraint and the general effect of the interior became more varied. Above all, the painted arch diminishes the side-thrust, and the pressure is downward instead of lateral. This effected a great innovation in the construction of the walls; certain parts, only, needed to be massively built, and the intervening parts could be treated as a light wall, merely for shelter, and pierced with windows. It is impossible to portray, without entering upon a detailed account, the importance of the revolution thus effected, and to which architecture owes an entirely new change of face. Briefly, buttresses were now built against the points specially needing support; high, broad windows were inserted between them, revolutionizing the whole character of the interior by replacing the old dimness with masses of light; and flying buttresses, finally, were thrown from the lofty nave—whose height and breadth demanded extra support—to the outer wall of the aisle, which thus took the whole lateral pressure, and met it by strong resisting piers. With these resources at command, the Gothic church returned to the ground-plan of the ancient basilica, but added the cross-vaulting of the Romanesque structure. Choir, transept, nave and tower were still retained, but all these integral parts were enlarged to the utmost, and developed into a splendid and effective whole.

The Gothic architecture is thus founded upon the arch. Hitherto, from the Romans downwards, the vault had been, as it were, "scooped out of a solid substance," and buildings were cast in an enormous mould. But the Gothic structures contained no inert masses; every part had an active function. The column was an actual support; every rib in the vault fulfilled a distinct function; every thrust of an arch found another thrust to meet it; walls became only screens, not support; and the whole system became a frame which main-

tained itself solely by a combination of oblique forces reciprocally destroying each other. Viollet-le-Duc asserts that the Gothic system had no connection with mediæval politics; but it is difficult to doubt that the same thoughts and emotions that made the history of the age are found subtilely inwoven in this marvellous architectural web.*

In the development of its details, the Gothic structure is equally fresh and original. The most striking quality of the early Gothic architecture is sincerity—an element now seen for the first time since the glorious days of ancient Greek art. The form of this architecture can never be separated from its structure; there is abundance of display, but it all has a use as well as a meaning. A Roman edifice may be stripped of its decoration and even its form, without injuring its structure; but no early Gothic building can suffer any change in its decoration without detriment to its organism. Of the innumerable details, we can notice but two. The window is a very important feature of this style. The wall-space between two pillars was broken by an enormous window, divided vertically by stone bars, called mullions. These mullions were joined above by pointed arches, and included in the great arch of the window; and in the openings thus formed were introduced geometric figures in the stone tracery, these again being filled with trefoils, quatrefoils, or still richer forms. There is no limit to the variety and grace of design in these windows, which were filled with glowing colored glass and produced an effect wholly new and original in the history of architecture. No less characteristic is the buttress system, outside. The piers have massive foundations, but taper toward the top, and their surface is enlivened by tracery and by niches containing statues; while a slender pyramidal tower crowns the whole.

Over every part of the structure is found a wealth of sculptured detail, "everywhere dissolving the firm outline of the whole into a multitude of airy members, and causing the stony mass to blossom, as it were, in countless flowers;" while the spirit is uplifted by the soaring pillars and lofty

* *Discourses on Architecture*, pp. 276, 282.

vaults, and feels the inspiration of a work of poetry and faith, filled with the inpouring of a mystic light.

That struggle for a new and free life which resulted in Gothic architecture was felt also by the plastic arts of the period, and produced, toward the middle of the thirteenth century, a style which differed radically from the Romanesque in every respect. Before the new method had reached its full development, it was adopted throughout the entire West with a unanimity which proves how completely it was an exponent of that age; while it maintained its position through the fourteenth and part of the fifteenth centuries. There was nothing especially new to express, but the old thought roused a fresh fervor, and the artist sought to embody his own interpretation of the sacred doctrines. The fine arts of this period reveal a glowing enthusiasm, a mighty unrest, a painful yearning, a blind abnegation of self. The figures are no longer calm, stately and restful. They are slender and willow-like, with a dreamy poise of the head. The body is not straight and erect, but sways in and out, as to the surge of conflicting emotions; while the passions of the soul are expressed by the look of radiant purity which is borne by almost every face. The departure from Byzantine traditions is still more increased by the predilection for portraying youthful forms. Here, especially, the new style reflects the spirit of the age—chivalry, Mariolatry and the worship of women—since it lacks in robust manliness, and clothes even its men with a feminine grace. The drapery has the chief features of the antique costumes, but is free, soft and undulating; for the artist was now awakening to impressions of the outer world, and the soft innumerable plaits of woollen fabrics then coming into use are often represented in the new sculptures and paintings. Architecture, however, still enchains the sister arts; the sculptures and paintings appear always in an architectural framework; and the figures, whatever individual expression they may have, are important only when subordinated to the sway of that great universal thought which they help to illustrate. Architecture, indeed, through her increased wealth of decoration, opened a wider field to sculpture; but the use of

enormous windows nearly abolished wall-painting, and only Italian art maintained this important field, and thus laid the foundation for its subsequent achievements.

Nowhere is the connection between sculpture and architecture at this period so intimate as in France, and nowhere does sculpture so brilliantly preserve the youthful energy and creative power of the age. The enormous extent of French Gothic structures, giving a wider range to plastic art than it had ever yet possessed, was matched by the inexhaustible fancy of the sculptor, who filled every available spot with figures which recall the noblest works of antiquity, as at Rheims; while an individuality of sentiment finds in them a deep yet gentle expression. The reign of St. Louis, indeed, to which the sculptures at Rheims belong, has been likened to the Age of Pericles; and certainly nothing that the whole Middle Ages produced can compare with the finest of these works in classical purity and elevation. But after the thirteenth century, sculpture in France degenerated with architecture and soon fell back to a conventional style. In Germany, the almost exclusive architectural ornamentation of the churches precluded great grouped compositions, but this led to the bestowing of more care on single figures, and in these sculpture reached a high stage of varied beauty. Wood-carving, too, was largely employed, especially in the decoration of altars; and here is displayed a most skilful use of color—the polychrome of mediæval plastic art.

The progress of painting in the North was severely checked by the Gothic style. Fresco work was driven from the walls by the use of large windows, and almost banished from the ceilings, since the vaults were so lofty as to make subject-decoration well nigh useless. Painting was thus confined chiefly to the altars, and here its field was very limited, for the central space was generally filled with sculpture. A certain rude originality, however, is evinced, toward the thirteenth century, followed soon by actual advance; for at this time arises a feeling for greater harmony of color, with greater care in design and a more delicate treatment of light and shade. Before the year 1350 the new pictorial feeling attained

excellent results. Figures now display a softer and broader contour; the oval of the face is more delicate; and the features are more refined. The gaudily-gilded backgrounds begin to disappear; and the figures stand out against well-drawn buildings or a rude representation of nature. Towards the close of that century blue sky appears and landscape backgrounds begin to look much like nature. This, indeed, is the spirit of the new growth—observation of life and nature; very timid, as yet, and fearful—for this still is under the ban of the Church; and the heavy shackles of tradition also fall away with reluctance. The expression of manliness is still lacking; nor is there, as yet, any adequate portrayal of passion; but youth and manhood, devoutness and sanctity, humility and dependence, are all worked out in that exquisite tone of ideality which belongs to the art of the Middle Ages, and which now reaches its highest culmination.

The progress of the plastic arts in the South was far more rapid and brilliant. The despotism of Gothic architecture was here less rigid, and sculpture was united with it in a natural, easy manner; while full provision was made for painting in the entire organism of the buildings, which displayed broader surfaces and were much less lofty than in the North. That self-consciousness of the artist, moreover, that sentiment of individuality which we have already noticed, was daily growing deeper and stronger; but, above all, the genius of Italy had arisen, and began to embody the divine.

We have seen the awakening of this genius in Nicola Pisano and in Cimabue; it now burst forth in Giovanni Pisano, the son of the great Nicola. In place of the calm, dignified beauty of the father's antique manner, the son displays the new style of the North. Its gentle depth and tenderness vanish, however, in his hands, and he applies his far greater freedom and vividness to the expression of dramatic passion and emotion, uniting to these qualities an unusual amount of intellectual motive in his composition. He was, indeed, the father of his epoch, and his influence spread throughout all Italy, by reason of the great number of scholars and disciples who attached themselves to him. A greater than he, how-

ever, was Giotto, whose universal genius gave an immense impetus to sculpture. But this name, with that of Orcagna, which closes the Florentine sculpture of this period, belongs even more to the realm of painting—already become the more favorite with the Italians, and irresistibly attracting to itself the great creative spirits of the age.

And this age is "the term and flower of living Christianity." In art's magnificent bloom, so soon to follow, it shook off the yoke of church traditions and strove to join in one embrace Calvary and Olympus. Its angels are often lusty courtesans; its suffering saints are struggling Titans. Christ is at times an Apollo—the Virgin a Venus. But the thirteenth century saw the Church on the Mount of Transfiguration, and art, rapt in ecstasy, cried, "It is good to be here." It was the age of Dante and of St. Francis—of beatific visions and unutterable horrors. Without, were tumult and gloom; within, rapture and unearthly light. He who murdered his brother in the streets fell in a swoon beneath the mystic contemplation of Divine love. From transport to transport—from supreme bliss to infinite despair—men mingled with visions of heaven a life of hell. Art throbbed with the same intense pulse. It grew more dramatic and more ecstatic; its figures became more vivid, yet dwelling ever in a mystic glow. True to the spirit of the times—which used an apocalyptic language, and gave to every word a double meaning, to every color a holy significance—it grew intensely symbolical; yet the arbitrary symbolization of previous ages was now too rude and childish. Art, like the language of love, was for the initiated; a painting must be both symbol and meaning.

To effect this fruitful union between the divine spirit and the earthly body, it was necessary that the artist should express his individuality. So we find him, beneath his fealty to the church, possessing and developing a strong self-consciousness; and art—not yet attaining that perfection which results from the happiest union of the subjective and objective power—displays, for a time, a strong subjective tendency. The centre of this art-culture, as in the previous age, was in Tuscany, and two principal schools are distinguished—the Floren-

tine and the Sieneſe. The ſchool of Florence is eſſentially didactic, allegorical. Its maſters ſeize upon life as it flowed around them, and with great quickneſs and vigor of thought unite to this freſh obſervation a thoughtful representation of the ſacred legends. In a richly poetic manner they expreſs the relation between the earthly and the ſpiritual. They delight in the portrayal of ſacred hiſtory—making their walls glow or gloom with the lives of Chriſt, the Virgin and the ſaints; yet they revel, too, in a deep and myſtic ſymboliſm, and throw into color the burning words of Dante. The firſt and ſtrongeſt maſter of this time is Giotto, and all Italy is enriched by his magnificent works. “He labored at ſo many works,” ſays Vaſari, “that if one were to recount them all no one would credit it.” He had none of the monkish ſpirit; he abhorred the hypocriſy of the age, and ſome of his nobleſt compositions expreſs, by covert ſatire or open rebuke, his hoſtility to the aſcetism and rapacity of the monks, as “*The marriage of St. Francis with Poverty*.” His genius is vigorous; it finds full expreſſion only in covering large ſpaces. He was a ſtrong and independent thinker, forming his opinions without reference to the Church. Accordingly we ſee him piercing the ſurface of things with keen ſight, and ſeizing on what is eſſential and characteristic—depicting incidents with convincing clearneſs and giving to them ſtrong dramatic life. He is a profound ſtudent of nature, and loves to introduce bits of landscape—at this time a novelty. Indeed, he revolutionized his art; he “diſcovered all—the ideal and nature, the nobleſs of figures and the lively expreſſion of ſentiments.” With theſe traits he united great ſkill in the proportioning and arrangement of large compositions; but he attaches leſs importance to his ſingle figures. It is not neceſſary, even, that they ſhould be beautiful. His heads are impreſſive, often attractive, but exhibit no ſameneſs of type. The ſhadow of Byzantium ſtill lingers upon his figures, but it is illuminated by the novel and ſpirited ſtrength which they draw from his genius. He is deficient in anatomical knowledge; thus his effects are produced by mere general indications; his legs and arms are often ſtiff, and his violent attitudes awkward. He uſes color,

moreover, in pale tones and with slight shading. But, despite these defects, he is vivid, impressive—even irresistible. His deep insight into actual life and his knowledge of the passions and emotions give often a picturesqueness to his sacred works, which yet never clashes with their dignified and elevated character.

The influence of Giotto on his art was deep and far-reaching, and his followers were numerous. The mantle of the great master fell upon Orcagna, though the two seem never to have met. Orcagna, also, was a sculptor and architect—perhaps even a poet—as well as a painter. His style is different from Giotto's; and, while he maintained the master's maxims of truth and simplicity, he added that tender religious sentiment which finally culminated in Fra Angelico. The Giottesque profound knowledge of composition and powerful grasp of the meaning of life appear in the great frescos ascribed to Orcagna in the Campo Santo at Pisa—the *Triumph of Death*, and the *Last Judgment*. Here are found great naturalness and disordered imagination, realism and symbolry, loveliness and the grotesque. The figures of noble lords and ladies express the mediæval life; they are pensive and riotous, melancholy and dissolute. There is intense and cruel irony also; for fearful Death swoops unheeding past those who long to embrace her, and descends without warning on the gay lords and ladies disporting in true Boccaccian style. But near at hand is the *Hell* of Orcagna's brother, displaying the rapid degeneracy of the school. These scenes, drawn from Dante, have lost all poetry—they are not even tragic. They are the expression of an era when the beauty of faith had fled, eternal truths were a mockery, and the light of divine love flickered out amid the orgies of unchained lusts. Boccaccio has supplanted Dante.

Between these works and those of the Siennese school, we find an essential difference. The masters of Siena care less for actual life than for the inner life. Less powerful in composition, they linger lovingly over single figures, and entice the soul into the face. There is great depth of feeling, but less action; much spiritual beauty, little vigor.

Thus, they painted more altar-pieces than frescos, and in other ways showed themselves related to Northern art. But there was wanting the element of expressive vitality; this school gradually sank into an idyllic, tranquil existence, unruffled by the great transformations which swept over Italian art in the fifteenth century. An age of turmoil and strife approaches, of struggle between effete Christianity and reviving Paganism; when the human body, no longer mocked and scourged, reclaimed the adoration of antique times; when the mystic life is abandoned, the mystic sentiment fades, and cataleptic visions give place to the exaltation of earthly beauty. Art shall no more speak to monks, but to laymen; to princes rather than priests; though the princes are often in priest's guise, and the voice often comes from the cloister. But the old era does not go out in darkness; it disappears in a splendid burst of light. In Fra Angelico, appearing late, as one born out of due time, the sweetness and tenderness, the mysticism and devotion of mediævalism gather their powers for one last, supreme effort. In the midst of tumult and dissipation, murder and debauchery, hysteric repentance and the abandonment of despair, this gentle and holy soul dwelt as a lily amid the storm of the elements. While he lived, there was yet unsullied purity in the world; while he painted, the sweetness and light of heaven should yet abide in the dark fens of earth. The world has never seen a soul more completely withdrawn from the outer life, more rapt in divine ecstasy, more pure in its exhalations. He was a stranger in the world, a heavenly spirit among men, living a ravished life in God. He communed constantly with Christ; he walked the streets of Paradise. The divine forms that peopled his cell—the Spirit that filled it with glorious light—he hastened to express upon the walls; his brush was moved as by supernatural powers; the hand of Him who gave the lily its tints was upon his as he painted the jasper and amethyst, the jewelled diadems and golden aureoles. His favorite themes are humility, purity, tranquil ecstasy and loving consecration. He abhors the stormy passions, the tumult and whirlwind of life. His atmosphere is marvellous; the light is as that of the sun

of Paradise. In azure and splendor, in amethystine glow, float his ideal and unearthly figures. His Christ is poetic, loving, tender, almost mournful; his Virgin has never been equalled in "immaculate modesty and virginal candor." But his bodies are not healthy; they miss the vigor of an active life. They are in an eternal contemplation and communion. On earth they would draw their breath with difficulty; the jar of life would soon shatter them. But they dwell in heaven, where the body has become a soul. Their sustenance is drawn from the banquet-halls of Christ; it feeds the disenthralled spirit. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God;" thus speak all the works of Angelico—the latest and richest bloom of mediæval Christianity. The age on which he turned his back, was moved by other and new emotions. On the near horizon, where met heaven and earth, Christianity and nature, a new dawn was shedding its glowing light.

ART. IX.—ALZOG'S UNIVERSAL CHURCH HISTORY.

1. *Manual of Universal Church History.* By Rev. Dr. J. ALZOG. 3 vols. *Translated from the German* By Rev. Dr. F. J. PABISCH and Rev. THOS. S. BYRNE. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co: 1878.

RELIGION is one of the oldest inheritances of our race. It originated when the first tribes began to grow out of their condition of savagery, and it was founded on the principles of repression and fear: *primus in orbe deos fecit timor*. This fact may be accepted as a proof of the great antiquity of the supernatural beliefs, since those who meant to elevate and improve society would naturally take the most efficacious means of doing so, when men were under the governance of their lowest and most barbarous instincts, one of which is fear. With this powerful factor they began the work of civilization and progress, declaring that the fear of the gods was the first step to wisdom. The first dealings of the Hebrew Deity with his creatures are represented as those of menace and punishment, followed by judgments of the most terrible and destructive character. The histories of all religions have a good deal in common. Elders, kings and priests made their divinities formidable; and Tacitus declares, in a kind of satirical discontent, that the punishment and not the happiness of men is the care of the gods. In his pantheon, the chief of these was represented with thunderbolts, and his messengers were the Furies. In other forms of religion an additional terror was provided in the shape of an Evil Spirit whose function it was to thwart the efforts of his Superior and generally to inflict pain. Some simple-minded races of men have been found who offered their chief worship to the latter, arguing that a benign Deity would not be disposed to injure them, and it was therefore the best policy to propitiate "the wicked one." Our own system of Christianity has always employed that same awe-compelling logic of human progress, but with some difference and modifications which argue well for the future of the world. Love and loving-kindness are accepted as more effective agencies than the fear of the Deity and the terror of His punishments. Sermons are nowadays preached on the text that perfect love casts out fear.

And it is one of the curious and generally unrecognized facts of human progress that love went before religion in the history of

our race; and that it actually shaped and colored all the course of civilization and the creeds of men. Yet, it was against this sentiment and agency that religion first raised its voice of authority and the terror of its hand. But love had the start of its corrector by some thousand years; and in that interval the language of men and the signs and symbols of things were established and recognized in a manner that nothing was ever entirely able to eradicate. Religion rightly rebuked the naturalisms of many tribes of men, and in time checked and lessened them. But it could not abolish the traditions that had grown around them and had become endeared to the ideas and fancies of those who preserved, and therefore proceeded to appropriate them, and to mislead the beliefs of coming generations with regard to their meaning. Religion was thus helped by the sorceries of language; and it raised everywhere a superstructure of mystery above the obstinate naturalism which it could not, in those ages of comparative barbarism, hope to do away with in any other manner. In this way the reformers of five thousand years ago signalized and consecrated some of the most notable rudiments of modern religion.

Foremost among these is one in which we all have "a dear and domestic interest"—the Cross. This symbol did not originate 1878 years ago. It was one of those devised by the sophs and sorcerers of Pagan days; and it is to be found among the relics and ruins of every country under the sun, flitting here and there like a spectre along the haunted "corridors of time," and wearing a curious and, as it were, masquerading variety of shapes and outlines—the most familiar of which have been named the St. George, the St. Andrew, the Maltese, the Greek and the Latin. It has been discovered in the caves of Ellora and Elephanta; in the temples at Benares where the great Bind Madu is built in the form of a cross, at Mathura, Terputty and other parts of India where it is named Tao-tse and Swastika by the Buddhists. It is visible on the necks and breasts of Assyrian kings represented on the Tablet of Nimroud in the British Museum and in other drawings. It has been found in the most ancient graves of Etruria and the disinterred houses of Pompeii. Clavigero records the surprise of the first Spanish invaders of Central America to find it in the temples of Yucatan, Mizteka, Queretaro, Tepique, Tianquiztepec, Palenque, Copan and other localities. In Mexico it was named *Vahomche*. It was and is the *Lao-tse* of China and Japan. In the classic lands and ages it was the sign of Libitania or Persephone, the goddess of Hades. Most of the ancient gods are represented with it. Jupiter grasps it, as the *Fulgura*. It is the Trident of Neptune, the Hammer of Vulcan, the Crescent of Diana, the Club of Hercules, the Anchor of Hope, the Caduceus of Mercury, the Bow and Arrow carried by the two sagittaries, Apollo and Eros. It was the sign of the most ancient Horus. It was carried by all the female deities—Mylitta, Astarte, Aphro-

dite, Mata, Isis, &c. It was the ship of Isis, and the Tau of Osiris. The Hebrew Deity, Erm, which would be written *Ram* in India, exhibited this symbol, according to the Rabbinical writers who seem to have regarded this name as the equivalent of Baali, Ishi or Adun, titles of their chief Deity. The figures of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are represented with the *Shakra*. In Egypt this symbol has been discovered by Belzoni among the sculptures and drawings of Thebes and by others in other parts of that ancient valley. It was honored by the ancient races of Western Europe. The Irish called it the *Cathach* of their god, *Fiodh* (oriental *Buddh* and Latin *Fidius*); and their antiquaries have failed to see that it was the Caduceus of Hermes. Those islanders gave it another name, *Onk*, the name of the cross in Egyptian and Aramean tradition. The Scandinavian Thor carried it in the shape of a Mallet. It was, in fine, represented in a thousand other ways and places, carrying everywhere a significant variety of names, and was as well known at Easter Island to the westward of South America, and the Tonga Islands and others of the Pacific archipelagos as in the Indian Dekkan or the Celtic Hebrides. The Christian cross is the oldest symbol in the world and the most generally revered. It was, in fact, the origin or representative of all religious symbols, that on which they were shaped, or out of which they grew by means of the ingenuities and fanciful sorceries of speech, in many regions of the earth.

Religion is progressive, like everything else in this world—for nothing can remain in a quiescent state. At first it accepted the symbols—especially that of the cross. But after a time this was set aside. The Hebrew prophets and priests came to denounce it. It was the *Aaglisch*, the Golden or Molten Calf, (as it was misinterpreted) round which men and women of the Israelites were dancing when Moses unexpectedly came down from the Mountain with the original draft of the Decalogue. Most other Eastern religions discarded and denounced it; and at the present day the dislike or contempt with which the Orientals regard that symbol is one of the chief reasons why Christianity has made little or no progress in that vast quarter of the globe. Remarkably enough, something of the same dislike was felt in the West. The early Christian bishops did not use the sign of the cross in any distinctive way, though the common order of their communicants was much attached to it. Tertullian, writing in the second century, says the cross was a popular sign, and he adds that the Persian Mithra marked his disciples and priests on the forehead with the same. Nevertheless the Popes would not allow it to be blazoned in or on the churches till A. D. 795 during the pontificate of Leo III. For the last thousand years however this venerable antediluvian symbol has been held in honor by the Catholic Church, and in one singular respect rather unconsciously; for the "Keys" are but a multiplication or modification of the original and more

familiar cross. The Protestant denominations also hold the symbol in respect ; so that, considering the advance of the two great powers of England and Russia in the East, one may hazard the prophecy that it will yet have a signal restoration in its early home of Asia, from the minarets of Rome and the Mosque of Omar to the Pagodas of China and Japan.

These significant preliminaries of his theme have not been treated by Dr. Alzog in his learned and comprehensive *Manual* ; but they will always present themselves to the notice of the historical student of theology, and will yet receive a larger attention from those who trace the rudiments and traditions of Christianity—and, indeed, of all other religions as well. They tend to establish the great antiquity of the Christian faith, and show that it is as old as anything in the Bible. Those writers who trace it backward to the Hebrew prophecies are not so much mistaken as people are apt to suppose. The Rev. Mr. Haslam, who published his book in 1854, is one of those who argue very confidently that the cross and its meaning were understood by Noah, and even by Adam himself. Be this as it may, it is certain Christianity began with the cross, and cannot be disconnected from it. Its great inaugurator made the symbol his own, suffering death upon it, and giving it a significancy which cannot be ignored or done away with.

The pages of Dr. Alzog's *Manual* and of the great works on Christianity tend to remind us that our creed is largely Asiatic in character, independently of the familiar facts that Jesus of Nazareth was a Jew and that he and his disciples spoke the Aramean language, so closely connected with the Assyrian and other Oriental dialects. It was a Greek doctrine. The Greek speech was used in Western Asia before it traversed the sea to be illustrated in Elisha (Hellas) and its archipelagos. Even after the Romans had possession of Western Asia great authors wrote in Greek—Plutarch, Appian, Arrian, Lucian, Pausanias, Dion Cassius, Strabo, Epictetus, Ptolemy, etc. The emperor, Marcus Aurelius, wrote his work on philosophy in Greek. Many of these authors did not know Latin, a language regarded as far inferior to the Ionian, and best suited to the purpose of law and government. The writers of the early Christian Church expressed themselves in Greek ; and for centuries after the Roman occupation such as could write at all corresponded with their fellow Christians of Italy, Gaul and Egypt in that speech. All the Popes (except two) from St. Peter to Sylvester were Asiatics or Greeks. Every teacher of a new doctrine going to Rome—and Western Asia furnished thousands of such immigrants—spoke publicly and wrote in Greek, whether at the Pantheon or the basilicas. The Jews of Jerusalem, under the protection of the Roman eagle, read their old Testament and transacted their commercial business in the Greek, after the manner of the Hebrew converts themselves. All the uncanonical

writings of Rome and the West were in Greek—the Epistles of Clemens, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Clementine Recognitions—or the story of St. Peter—and a number of others of less note. The Gauls got their Greek by the gateway of Massilia or Marseilles, and Cæsar and others have noted that their letters were in the Greek character. Irenæus wrote in Greek; the old story of the Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne is in the same language which at the same time was used as part of the Church service at Tours and elsewhere. In the fifth century the Latin had not supplanted Greek in Southern Gaul; and some tribes about Arles commonly spoke in that speech. Sozomen says that in that century there was no public preaching in Rome, which would naturally be the result where the great body of the people could only understand their own Latin language and the clergy could or would speak only in the great Christian dialect. Pope Leo I (440 A. D.) was the first who attempted to preach to his people in the speech of Italy.

The Roman poets said that, in the matter of language and learning, the Greeks took their conquerors captive; and something similar might have been said on the theme of religion. Up to the third century Rome was in a state of captivity to the Greek. No doubt Pericles or Plato would have called it "unlicensed Greek," like that of Suidas. But it was wonderfully suited to the subtle work of the heresiarchs and other propounders of new doctrines who attempted to make the tenets of Christianity fraternize with the theories, cosmogonies, mysteries, and gnosticisms of Western Asia. Valentius of Alexandria, Marcian of Sinope, and Montanus of Phrygia, with his two talkative sibyls, Priscilla and Maximilla, were the great sensational preachers of Rome at that period, proposing novelties, exciting revivals and making converts; and with these may be noted the names of Praxinus and Artemon of Antioch, Theodotus of Byzantium, and Noetus of Smyrna—all electric lights and most memorable celebrities among the Italian Christians. In the midst of this ferment of religious feeling the Popes played their part, as mediators, moderators and arbiters, steadying the bark of Peter in the roughest weather, and biding their time; for they knew that Italy must be Roman in the end, so long as a Roman emperor, the great buckler of the rising Church, held his seat and sceptre in Rome.

Another notable feature of that Christian Orientalism was what has been called the Sibylline literature.* Most readers remember the first mention of this in Roman history and the Tuscan Sibyl who brought her written "Leaves" to King Tarquin.

* The Sybilline Books were preserved in the Italian and Greek monasteries for ages. In 1545, Betuleius discovered some of them, amounting to eight books, and published them at Basle in the Greek text. In 1817-1828 Angelo Mai made himself famous by discovering four more of them in the Ambrosian library, and publishing them at Milan and Rome.

These were preserved by the Flamens as a sort of arcane deposit or palladium till the year 621 A. U. C., when they were lost in the burning of the Capitol. But others were gathered to replace them—for such things were always great helps in the business of controlling the people and carrying out the system of government—and the restored Capitol had its renovated scrollerly of dominion. Other peoples also had their "Sibylline Leaves," and their legends of the Sibyl. Lactantius, quoting the antiquarian Varro, says that there were at least ten of them in the ancient world; viz.: the Persian, the Lybian, the Delphic, the Cumæan, the Cimmerian, the Hellespontine, the Phrygian, the Tiburtine, the Erythræan, the Alexandrian, etc. Some of those writings gathered at Rome were more a hindrance than a help to the emperors; and Augustus and others forbade the use of them as authorities in State matters. But they had a great charm for the antiquaries and the common people. Cicero translated some of them from the leaves of the Erythræan Sibyl; and the Emperor Constantine loved to pore over them in search of arguments for the Christian religion.

The fashion of the Sibylline literature came from Western Asia, and its influence largely helped the propagation of Christianity. A sibyl of Alexandria, about 150 B. C., issued a volume of prophecies against Babylon, Egypt, Persia, Assyria, Macedonia, etc. It was as much a political or national denunciation as anything else, and the patriotic or philosophic sibyl was, in a great measure, the forerunner of the pamphleteers and journalists of later ages. Another sibyl of Jerusalem or Egypt—about A. D. 210—delivered a long rhapsody on Messianism and millennial vision, mingled with Jewish and Christian ideas and coloring, reminding the reader of the awful and voluble warning of the Hebrew prophets, and alluding to the late doctrines of the Eucharist, Purgatory, the Virgin Mary, etc. These, of course, came from Jews or Jewish converts to Christianity. This kind of wild literature was greatly affected by the Christian apologists. Justin speaks of it as approaching to the teaching of the Scriptures. Clemens of Alexandria calls the sibyl a true prophetess and places her testimony in the first rank of evidence; Tertullian uses the same strong terms of approval; and St. Augustine says that class of literature belongs to the "City of God." The Latin Church always respected the "sibyls" and quoted their writings cordially and poetically, ranking them with King David:—

Teste David cum sibylla.

They were employed by the Roman pontiffs in the conversion of the Kelts, the Germans and other nations of the West; and this, we perceive, Dr. Alzog has recognized. The missionaries believed they held true doctrine; and no doubt they remembered the true meaning of the word "Sibyl;" a meaning which the historical critics and interpreters of the present age have over-

looked. The term meant "Scripture," founded on a genuine Hebrew root easily discoverable, signifying "teaching" or "prophesying;" and is, in fact, an early shape of our own venerable and familiar words "Gospel" and "Spell." The phrase was associated with *woman*, for the good legendary reason that it also meant a "maiden" in ancient speech; and linked with a *cave*, for the equally good reason that *sibyl*, meant a cavern or grot, in most ancient languages, and may be detected in the term "sepul-chre." But the word meant originally a "writing" or "prophecy;" and that most ancient and popular figure of speech, *paronomasia*, came subsequently and helped to furnish it with the fantastic additions and endings which the muse of ancient history always loved to perpetuate, and has perpetuated in almost every page she ever wrote for our instruction.

In its earliest movements Christianity was eager to ally itself with imperial power as the best or most prudent means of rooting itself firmly among the jarring societies of men in those ages of ravage and invasion; and the emperors, on their side, had a strong sympathy with an alliance which, like themselves, labored to establish a system of universalism for the world. Christianity meant to break down the old national barriers of nations and races and bring the latter under the law of a single principle; and the emperors hoped that the same centralizing principle would help the advance of their standards and the security of their conquests. Christianity worked therefore with imperialism, and prospered accordingly; making good its place in Western Asia and as far as Persia, and nursing its churches as long as the Byzantine sword had power to protect them. But with the shrinking of the Eastern Empire, the influence of the Church died away; till at last, in the seventh century, the victorious expansion of a new religion—guarded also by the power of the sword, and propagated by a swarm of Arab fanatics—swept away the kingdom of Christ on earth from that chosen ground of Western Asia in which it was first planted by Paul and Apollos. Christianity was forced back everywhere before the Eastern Unitarians—far worse opponents than those Arians that had been put down with so much trouble—and forced to take refuge within the comparatively barbarous ring-fence of Europe.

But this change did not change the policy of the Italian or Catholic Church, as it now began to be named; and the Popes, undefended by Eastern or Western emperors, looked for some new power capable of protecting them with the sword against the restless barbarians of the North and West, Goths, Heruli or Lombards. But it was not easy to find what they wanted. The Burgundian, Ostrogothic and Lombard rulers of Northern Italy were almost all Arians—and therefore as bad as the Saracens. At last an incursion of pure, uncontaminated Pagans came into Gaul across the Rhine, and were happily baptized into the Trinitarian

creed. These were the Franks—the oldest Catholics of the West. Clovis, Pepin and Charlemagne were firm friends of the Papacy. They beat down the Arian Ostrogoths and Lombards of Italy; and in A. D. 800, Charlemagne was crowned emperor of the West at Rome by Pope Leo III. Christianity had its imperial ally once more; and the Papacy was enriched by some territory, the gift of its powerful friend who thus enlarged the patrimony first conferred by Constantine in the days of Pope Sylvester.* Setting aside this story, it is certain that the Popes and their able semi-secular "law advisers" and Ministers of State, the Cardinals, would be sufficiently shrewd to gather a good many acres of territory, in the confusions of those times, from the robber chieftains of Italy and place them within their own ring-fence, to the great comfort of the inhabitants who found the Church a much milder ruler than the fierce paladins of the country, Goths, Lombards or Normans.

Somewhat in that way began the authority of Roman Catholic pontiffs in the West; and it may be observed as a matter of church history curiously germane to the matter, that their appellation seems to have been adopted from the circumstances of their European field of action. The term "Catholic" was derived from the new edition of the Scriptures rendered from the Greek into Latin for the use of the Western races. This was called the *Vulgate*, made or reviewed by St. Jerome and St. Augustine, two of the best linguistic scholars of their age—the Fourth Century—and named, or pronounced by them the *Itala*—a term which in many old forms of language especially the Semitic and Celtic, meant "Gospel," or "Doctrine." *Itala* was the name of the Latin Bible, sanctioned by the Latin Church, and the latter would naturally be called the Church of the *Itala*, or Catholic Church. All old names for forms of religion originated from the various words for "teaching;" as in Llama, Islam, Yedzid, Buddha, &c.

The history of the Papacy from the seventh century onward was, according to the original tradition of the Church, that of imperial or secular alliance; and it was a very stormy history—just as stormy as that of the theocratic Jews or Arabs. In time the Popes quarrelled with the pretensions and interferences of the German empire named the "Holy," and their adherents, the Guelphs—*guelph* was a very old word for "priest" or "pontiff"—at issue with those of the emperor, named Ghibellines, kept Italy

* Döllinger, adopting the view of a number of mediæval writers, takes a good deal of trouble to show that this gift of Constantine was but a cunningly devised fable of the church-historians. But he was too hard on what is held after all to be a sort of legend, founded on the fact that Constantine by a decree empowered the Christian Church in his time to hold whatever lands the faithful may think fit to bestow upon it, a very important concession and one from which a great amount of "real estate" would be acquired in time, without the intervention of a legend.

in a condition of turmoil and bloodshed for generations. The Popes were the great arbiters or mediators; and their influence produced a counterpoise against the force of Germany in the celebrated free cities of Italy—the only redeeming features of that long and weary quarrel. But the Papacy suffered greatly from those civil commotions, and the Popes were forced to appeal to France. They left Rome and resided at Avignon for seventy years—from 1308 to 1378. During this interval the citizens of Rome attempted to establish a republic, under the somewhat fantastic leadership of Rienzi, in 1347—as premature an undertaking as that of Mazzini, Armellini and Saffi, five hundred years later. The schisms and rival Popes of that period, during which three were found contesting the chair of St. Peter at the same time (1414), greatly weakened the influence of the Church and brought on the Reformation and the spiritual hostility of the Germans, who led the way in this new species of revolt. Since that day the Papacy was no longer able to play its old grand part on the stage of the European monarchies, though its cardinals, in virtue of superior education and statesman-like ability, were still employed in the management of public affairs in several countries.

The history of Christianity has been, for the most part, a history of contest and general tumult, in the midst of which the Church was always ready to assume a combative aspect and employ the fierce agencies of war. It was menacing in its mildest styles of policy; and almost every one of its Councils—especially in its earlier days—was a field of battle. Its inheritance has been not so much a peace as a sword, and the angry passions that naturally accompany the bewildered understanding of men—as in the old Council of Ephesus (A. D. 431) for instance, when the wretched Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, would still insist that the Virgin Mary was the “mother of Christ,” simply, and should not be called the “mother of *God*,” and thus produced an earthquake of the whole Church, out of which he barely escaped with his life. All mental uncertainty and ignorance have in them a certain spirit of ferocity; and human enlightenment is always the best calmer of such passions and the best hope of human society. In our serener days the Catholic Church seems to have at last reached its proper place and assumed its proper character, as the teacher of men, and not the censor or the antagonist of princes. Its founder said his kingdom was not of this world—meaning anything in the shape of civil government; and the Church has now the glorious privilege of adopting those divine words and making the same boast. In all likelihood its fairest and most Christian days are yet to come, and some of its grandest achievements.

Much indeed remains to be done in the world. In spite of the Popes and patriarchs of two thousand years, the greater part of it is still in darkness. The inhabitants of the earth,

according to the most recent estimates, number about thirteen hundred millions of souls. Of these the professors of the religion of Jesus are calculated at three hundred and fifty millions—leaving about a thousand millions of human beings shrouded in the gloom of a great many other religions. This presents a broad field of deficiency and evangelical operation, and every corner of it is now open to the missionaries of the Christian churches without exception. They are called upon to do away with a condition of things, in which the followers of Christ show so poorly in numbers beside the followers of Buddha, Brahma, Fo, and Om and the supporters of Islamism and Lamaism; nations that hold the doctrine of the cross and the sibyls in contempt unspeakable; while Max Muller and a thousand other English, American and German philosophers or theologians, the guides of modern progress, declare in writing and to approving audiences, that all forms of religion are equally respectable, and that therefore the matter of creed is a matter of great indifference. Beyond a doubt, the task of the Christian teachers will be found as hard and trying within the boundaries of Christianity itself as it can be in the Pagan wilderness beyond them, among the Chinese, the Japanese, the Hindus, Tibetans and Mongolians of the Eastern hemisphere.

But it can teach a great many things which may profit those modern teachers as well as the Pagans. It can enter the field of ethics and, holding the Christian Sermon on the Mount—for the followers of Buddha have also a Sermon of the Mount delivered by that legendary teacher—throw a gleam of light on a theme discussed with such a diversity of opinion by Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Spinoza, Shaftesbury, Kant, Fichte, Hutcheson, Bentham, Chalmers, and a hundred other philosophers of ancient and modern renown, who have expatiated so largely on the *quid pulchrum*, *quid turpe*, *quid utile*, *quid non*, in essays that are an exhaustion of the spirit and a weariness of the flesh. The Christian need only pronounce a single sentence, which may be found in the Seventh Chapter of St. Matthew: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them; this is the Law and the Prophets." These words should be written in letters of gold; for they contain the essence of all human duty, and are worth all the volumes ever written on that subject. The Roman emperor Alexander Severus greatly admired them, declaring they did honor to the new faith then (A. D. 230) struggling into general recognition, and had them inscribed in capital letters upon the door-ways and along the walls and ceilings of his palace. No doubt he had been fatigued by the books on moral philosophy which were read in his time, and was delighted to find so complete and so lucid a summing up of the question.

Dr. Alzog's comprehensive and learned *Manual* is full of sug-

gestions, not alone for the student of religion, but also for the historical critic, and the secular lover of literary ancientry who may feel that

Not harsh and barren are the winding ways
Of hoar antiquity, but strewn with flowers.

Had Dr. Alzog cared to have a brief title for his work, he might have used the three words *Urbis et Orbis*, or at least chosen them as a motto; for the contents would fully justify so significant a heading. It would be a pleasure to follow out the many trains of thought set in motion by the vast amount of reading and citation of the *Manual*; but it is inconsistent with our design. The addition to the ninth German edition is made by the Revs. Pabisch and Byrne, the translators; and by these the great facts and points of Church history have been brought down to the present time, completing a work which must prove, as it has already proved since the first volume was published in 1874, a valuable help to all students of divinity and all lovers of scholastic and antiquarian literature. The learning displayed in these volumes, whether of the author or the translators, in the Abstracts, Reviews, Notes, Chronological Tables, etc., is really admirable, and as honorable to the Reverend translators and editors, as to the genius of Dr. Alzog. Their style is as clear and forcible as that of the best of its kind, having none of the stiffness that may be found generally in versions of a foreign language. The great worth of this work is enhanced by several large colored ecclesiastical maps of the old and the new hemispheres, viz.: an *Orbis Christianus* of the Germans and Slavs in the Middle Ages; an *Orbis Romanus Christianus*; Ecclesiastical Maps of North America, Western Asia, etc.

For the rest, the publishers of this comprehensive scholastic work have brought it out in the best style of American typography quite in keeping with the excellence of its contents.

ART. X.—BIBLIOGRAPHY.

PHILOSOPHY.

The Ethics of Positivism: A Critical Study. 12° pp. 327.
By GIACOMO BARZELLOTTI. Being a translation from the
Italian of the Author's *La Morale nella Filosofia Positiva*.
New York: Charles P. Somerby. 1878.

THE title of this excellent little volume of Sig. Barzellotti is rather misleading. Instead of the work being an exposition of Positivism, as one is led to suppose by its title, it is a critical examination of the modern experimental school of moral philosophy, as it is especially elucidated by the adherents of that school in England. The author tells us that his work was "originally published by instalments during the years 1870 and 1871, in *La Filosofia della Scuole Italiane*, a philosophical periodical printed by the illustrious philosopher, Terenzio Mamiani;" and declares its object to have been in the first place to defend "the principles of morality against the attacks of an empirical utilitarianism (Preface p. viii). In pursuing this object the views of Locke, Kant, Hume, Bentham, Hartly, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Alexander Bain and others are passed under review, and their strength and weakness, competency and limitations, pointed out in a style of singular conciseness, and in a spirit preëminently dispassionate and philosophical. In this respect Sig. Barzellotti has set an example in polemical writing worthy of all commendation. Indeed, he carries his critical impartiality so far at times as to leave the uncritical reader in doubt in respect of his own views. Take for example a brief citation of the author's criticism of the psychology of Mill and Bain, from both of whom he differs:

"They observe the facts of the mind arranged in an uninterrupted series, almost like images reflected in a mirror, and do not think of the power by virtue of which these facts became sequential; nor do they apprehend the essential connection between the mental sequence and a spontaneous force of the mind"—a criticism of great force and pertinency. "Psychologists of this category," continues our author, "see mental facts gathered in memory like objects drifting calmly and continuously on the surface of a river, but do not point to the source of activity from which they proceed. This insufficiency of their method is again perceived when we see them define mind as the unknown recipient of mental phenomena." (p. 66.)

Altogether Sig. Barzellotti's views and criticisms are of exceeding interest to the student and thinker, and presented with such

felicitousness as to charm even while provoking dissent. His work is full of admiration for the labors of modern English savants, especially Mill and Spencer; and through it all one may discern a love of truth too deep and sincere to permit of its being trammelled by the mere formulas of systems, or the antiquated phraseologies in which so much that is golden has been concealed. He is a true philosopher, finding in the order of things an excellence which is its own justification.

Socialism. 12° pp. 111. By ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK, D. D.
New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1879.

THIS neatly-printed monograph deals in a popular way with one of those social problems which have engaged the minds of thinking and philanthropic men from time immemorial. The author does not attempt to solve the problem, but he fully appreciates its difficulties and presents some of them clearly and forcibly. He rightly traces the cause of Socialism to inequality, and the latter to the prominent vices of the age. "Our civilization" he says, "is distinctively and intensely materialistic." The great inventions of the age have produced affluence in one class and poverty in another; so that as yet they seem to have been a curse to society rather than a benefit. The evils of socialism require, in our author's view, the intelligent application of economic remedies with a regimen of judicious philanthropy; an opinion in which we heartily concur.

PHILOLOGY.

Origin, Progress and Destiny of the English Language and Literature. Royal 8° pp. 700. By JOHN A. WEISSE, M. D.
New York: J. W. Bouton. 1879.

IN this handsome royal octavo volume, Dr. Weisse gives us the growth of English speech, a subject that has engaged his attention for thirty years. It is arranged in two chief divisions, one of which is the history of the language; the other, the statistics of its component parts. The history begins with the legend of Hengst and Horsa, and the coming in of the Jutes, Angles and Saxons in the fifth century, and is brought down to our own time. The dissertation covers a very large extent of ground, traversed by a great many modern writers—Bosworth, Thorpe, Turner, Kemble, Lappenberg, Hadley, Corson, Marsh and others—whose researches have been modified and criticised by

our author. The narrative of progress is arranged in several periods, and accompanying these, at frequent intervals, are columnar arrangements to indicate the origin of the English words quoted from works belonging to those periods; their headings being the Thraso-Pelasgic or Greco-Latin Family; Scytho-Gothico Germanic Family; Gomero-Keltic Family; Sarmata-Sclavonian Family, and Semitic Family. These distinctions have been elaborated with amazing patience and persistence, and they give a very good idea of the author's enthusiasm, while, at the same time, they have a power of disconcerting the minds of those whose erudition or industry are inferior to his own. They are highly characteristic of the German intellect, so capacious of learning and so untiring in the pursuit of it, and remind us of the loving devotedness of the ancient Hebrews, who numbered all the words in their Scriptures and put on record a thousand curious facts evolved in the course of that curious multiplication.

Surveying this large work, with all its historic memoranda and literary statistics, we find we cannot deal adequately with them in brief space and must, therefore, confine our observations to the theme of those English origins. Dr. Weisse, like Max Müller and most other writers on this subject, are wrong when they slur over the Keltic forms of speech, belonging to the eastern seaboard of the Atlantic and the North Sea—the Keltiberian, the Basque, the Armorican, the Irish, the Welsh and Cornish, the Dutch, the Danish and the Norse. We believe these last mentioned are in speech as truly Keltic as the Irish—that is, that they once spoke a set of dialects that came round to the West by way of Gibraltar and the sea. Tacitus says this last was the earliest high-road of the speech-migrations, and he seems to be right. Languages,—that is, men carrying the languages—would find their way more easily in coracles than over the cold steppes and tangled forestry of Northern Europe. The Keltic dialects are full of Semitic words—like the Sanskrit, the Iranian, the Dravidian, etc., which also received their words from the old Assyrian centre; and the Albion islanders—Albion is actually an ancient name of Ireland—whether Britons and Saxons, had one of those dialects from the earliest ages. The Saxons had possession of London and Kent long before the days of the legendary Hengst and Horsa, and were Kelts speaking a Welsh jargon. The Anglo-Saxon dialect first grew, in fact, where the world found it, on the level ground of the Strait which divides their island, *toto orbe*—from the rest of the world; and as they took their name from their own Keltic word *sag*, which means “strait”, they had no need to “come over” in any coracles from Jutland. The story of Hengst and Horsa is a fable, like that of Brute, the Trojan; and, we repeat, the Jutes (or Geats), Angles and Saxons belonged immemorially to the green holms and “narrow seas” of Britain. England had seven or

eight names, and every one of them is Keltic, and all signifying "Channel Country" or "Island of the Strait," a fact that will be better understood by and by.

For these reasons and a hundred others, we are disposed to reject the paradigms or analyses of Dr. Weisse, as not sufficiently trustworthy, and to hold that the English language is broadly based on the old Keltic dialects of the West, and not on any Gotho-Germanic or Greco-Latin elements. No doubt we have got a good many words from the classics, but not half so many as people suppose, for the reason that those classic words we respect so much were always in the vocabularies of the Kelts, but in a sort of barbaric disguise which scholars were not always willing or able to recognize. The barbarians got their words from the coasts of Asia, like the men of Greece and Italy. The classic word *History* is purely Semitic and as purely Irish; and people deceive themselves when they suppose it came from the Latin dictionary. The same can be said of more than one hundred other terms that carry a classic air in literature. But we cannot dwell any farther on this interesting subject. In conclusion, we must express our sympathy with Dr. Weisse, whose learned industry deserves, for many reasons, a very high commendation. He has treated his subject in an ample and comprehensive manner, and gathered together a multitude of things, bearing in a variety of ways on the theme of English speech, and tending, more or less, to illustrate it. Though he did not begin to learn our language till he was thirty years old, his style, barring the mis-use of the particles and certain other minor irregularities, can scarcely be distinguished from that of an American; and he writes just as effectually, if not so succinctly, as Max Müller—another of the *seri studiosorum* in this department of effort.

Having given so many words to the Doctor, we may spare one or two for his help-mate, Mrs. Jane Lee Weisse, herself a poetess, whose part in her husband's work is the happy undertone of a well composed and very musical *Ode on Language*.

MEDICINE.

Homœopathic Therapeutics. 8° pp. 710. By S. LILIENTHAL, M.D. New York and Philadelphia: Boericke & Tafel. 1878.

THE Homœopathic branch of the medical profession is under obligation to Dr. Lilienthal for this record of his experience in the art and science of medicine. The volume is, indeed, a magnificent bequest to the medical profession. It is of more value to the student of medicine than money, being a faithful record of a clinical experience of fifty years, methodically arranged

and otherwise made available for reference and suggestion. The medical man can render his age no greater service than this. It is in fact the most fitting climax of a medical career conceivable; and he who attains it in a befitting manner may with justice claim to have "fought the good fight" and to have finished the work given him to do.

Dr. Lilienthal's work is arranged alphabetically. Using the old nomenclature in Nosology, he begins the list of diseases with *Abortus* and ends with *Zona Zoster*. The remedies suggested for any particular ailment or disease are arranged in like manner, with the indications for their use accompanying each remedy. Thus, the remedies suggested in the treatment of *abscesses* begin with *Apis*, (the poison of the honey bee) which the author says is indicated by "stinging, burning pains," and ends with *Silicea*, the use of which is indicated by pains that are "either burning, itching, prickling, or palsative."

The author's work is rendered all the more valuable by the diligent use he has made of the experience of his *confrères* in the profession, both of the present and of the past. If there be any fault with the volume, it will be found in its close and conscientious adherence to inductive therapeutics. We wish he could have departed from this rigid induction so far, at least, as to have excluded from his work indications for the use of those vile and vicious viruses of vipers and bugs which the commonsense of the old school of medicine long since measurably abandoned. The pharmacopeia of nature is too full of medicaments of mineral and vegetable origin to justify the physician in exploring the founts of nastiness and the secretions of iniquity in search of curative agencies. If the new school of therapeia could turn away from the employment of those antiquated resources of the medical art, it would improve its standing among commonsense people immeasurably.

HISTORY.

The Jesuits. 12° pp. 348. By PAUL FÉVAL. Translated from the French, by S. F. GALWEY. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1879.

THIS little volume, treating of the Society of Jesus, is not so much a history of that much vilified Order as an account of the persecution it has suffered from both foes and friends of the Church. The author intends it merely as an introductory essay to a more elaborate work which is soon to appear. M. Féval's earlier writings were of a very different order from the one under review, belonging more to the lighter literature of the day.

Formerly, he was by no means a disciple of the Church. His acquaintance with the Jesuits was formed while examining their literature with the purpose of contributing his share to the general abuse heaped upon them. But his researches led to an unexpected result. He came to regard the Jesuits with admiration for their self-abnegation and other estimable qualities, and he pursued the subject *con amore* until he had collected a mass of evidence from partisans of both sides. M. Féval's style is very attractive, and his enthusiasm in defence of the Order is discernible in every page. Mr. Galwey deserves the thanks of the English reading public for his able translation of this work. The book has an extremely neat appearance.

New Greece. 8° pp. 423. By LEWIS SERGEANT. London, Paris and New York: Cassell, Petter and Galpin. 1878.

THE most interesting revival in history, ancient or modern, is that of Greece, once the most intellectually powerful State, and mother of States, recorded in the world's annals—far beyond the Roman in that luminous respect. It was for a long time the reproach of human civilization that Greece should have remained in Turkish durance; and it is perhaps a necessity of civilization in our own day that its growth shall be slow in the wardship and shadow of the great rival powers that move around it. But there is a principle of growth in Greece that will yet assert itself; and a thousand prophecies keep alive the hope of a restored empire of the Bosphorus.

Greece, as a kingdom, has been a good deal overlooked; but its history, condition and prospects are full of suggestion—as the present work will show. Mr. Sergeant—for some time editor of the London *Examiner*—gathers up the whole argument of his theme with great judgment and ability, discussing its various aspects and presenting the opinions and policy of the statesmen who, for the last half century, have controlled the destiny of that interesting country. In doing so, he dwells on the indifference of the “great powers” to the proper dignity and welfare of Greece. But governments “have no souls,” and are not at all sentimental over their rough work of enforcing great facts and shaping or compelling the movements of modern progress. Greece must remain in leading-strings, like the Padishah, its old enemy. At the same time, great chances are flying round its horizon, like eagles, and it may yet be the recognized mistress of the Byzantine mainland and the old crowd of its beautiful archipelago.

Mr. Sergeant gives an interesting account of the progress of the little kingdom in literature, a pursuit for which “the lively, supple Greeks” have the strong partiality of race, intensified, of course, by the traditions and historic memorials of their country.

Year by year, the Academy of Athens regulates the competitions in poetry, and awards the prizes founded by Ambrose Ralli and others. The day of the Commencement (or "Recital") is usually the 25th of March—the day of the *Panagia*, or Lady Day; and that also on which Athens first greeted the proclamation of Greek Independence. Religion and poetry make a gala-day of it; and the people of the capital crowd to hear the President of this modern Olympia read the reports on the poems offered for competition; and announce the winner's name, then they make him a Laureate by putting a crown on his head in the midst of general acclamation. This winner is more honored in all Greece than the author of the finest book can be in England, Germany or America. For the rest, the Greek system of education is general, and the teaching in schools and colleges pretty much after the manner of most enlightened countries—the people everywhere speaking (very nearly) the language of Solon and Pericles.

This work, which is illustrated by two large maps of the ancient Greek area (in Europe and Asia) and that of the modern kingdom, will be found a valuable help to the historic student. It has, in the Appendix, a synopsis of the great events that have marked the progress of Greek government for half a century, and an Index which completes the most interesting book yet published on the condition of that young monarchy.

The Races of European Turkey. Their History, Condition and Prospects. 8° pp. 532. By EDSON L. CLARK. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1878.

THE subject and general interest of this work are akin to those of *New Greece*; and the Races of European Turkey form part of the most difficult problem in modern progress, that is, the destiny of the Ottoman Porte and its splendid capital. The work is divided into three parts; the first treats of the Byzantine empire in its decline subsequently to the reign of Justinian; the next deals with the Greeks and Albanians; and the last presents us in historic review a number of powerful tribes—Bulgarians, Servians, Slavonians, Bosnians, Wallachians, Morlaks, Gypsies, &c., at present, or lately, subjects of the Turkish Padishah. In the first division, the author discusses the causes which led to the extinction of the Greek Empire; in the next, the effect of the Ottoman government on the Greek race, arguing that the Turks in destroying the feudalism of the imperial *régime* and the artificial ranks and relations of society existing under it, substituted a sort of patriarchal democracy, which tended to prepare the minds of the Greeks for the liberty of a better age. The changes following the Turkish occupation are set forth in a brief and luminous manner; and the reader will be gratified by a clear and consecu-

tive history of those races, dynasties and general events which he may have gathered in a fragmentary way from a number of other narratives. The record of the Greek Revolution of fifty years ago is a piece of history that deserves to be remembered; and it is here set down in a brief and lucid manner. Altogether, the theme of Mr. Edson's work is as seasonable as it is attractive, comprehending as it does the most important argument, probably, of this age—the continued existence, or the disruption of the Turkish monarchy; a power which, in the opinion of a great many people is only a sort of Oriental encampment in Europe, and likely to be broken up in some vehement commotion of the great European potentates. A perusal of the *Races of European Turkey* is necessary for a proper comprehension of that very tangled subject perpetually recurring in so many of our books, reviews, newspaper articles and reports.

The concluding chapter gives a rapid sketch of the recent Russo-Turkish war, and explains the Treaty of Berlin, growing out of the Treaty of San Stefano. This valuable work is accompanied by a large map of the territory treated of; while a glance at its index will give the reader a good idea of its varied contents. Its crowd of notes affords evidence of great reading and industry; and the exterior and fine type of the work are in the best style of the typographical art.

BIOGRAPHY.

Shelley. 12" pp. 190. By J. ADDINGTON SYMONDS. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1879.

THIS biography of Shelley is the *fourth* in the interesting series of *English Men of Letters* which the Messrs. Harper have in course of publication.

Percy Bysshe Shelley was the most meteoric, irregular and contradicting poet on English record. In that respect he is far more reprehensible than the opium-eating dervish, S. T. Coleridge; and Lord Byron himself, compared with his younger contemporary, was an orderly and moderate minded man. It is certainly a curious fatality of English literature, that those three rebels against the morals or proprieties of society should in our age be written foremost on the roll of poetic renown. In this little book Mr. Symonds has performed his task with a clear knowledge of Shelley's nature, writing with a certain degree of enthusiasm, which is not displeasing, since he is careful to discriminate judiciously. In this discrimination lies the difficulty of a biographer; for, after everything has been said and summed up, we find that Shelley's life deserved as much blame as praise; and it is only by a strong effort that we can form a just opinion of this strangely complicated character.

That poet was nature's own work. She reproduced in him something of the wayward energy of one of his grandfathers, Bysshe Shelley, a wonderful genius in his way, whose life-history, now nearly lost to memory, would, if written, have contained many curious fortunes and adventures. This Bysshe was an American by birth. He was a quack doctor, a timber merchant, the husband of some indistinct American woman, who comes like a shadow and so departs; first an English resident speculating in land; then married successively to two English women of high family; then building a grand castle-home; then obtaining the rank of baronet—founding for one of his sons the noble house of De Lisle and Dudley; and dying in 1806 worth \$100,000 per annum. A great many would rather read the life of such a man than that of his grandson, the poet. The latter had the propensities of his family. He disliked his father, Sir Timothy, as much as Sir Timothy disliked his own father Bysshe, who in turn, hated him. Young Percy, born in 1792, was sent to Eton and to Oxford. At Eton he got warnings for his irregular ways and ideas; and from Oxford he was subsequently expelled for his dreadful mode of discussing and dismissing the Deity. Like Swift, who broke with the masters of Trinity College on account of his *Terra-filius* buffoonery, Shelley outraged his own Alma-mater with an atheistic tripos.

We cannot follow him in his wild wanderings, his elopements and marriages; his adventures with love and the elements on sea and land; nor detail the miseries which followed in their wake. Although he died (by drowning) in his thirtieth year, he lived long enough to lay the foundation of an earthly immortality. His nature was essentially ambitious. He tried to reconcile the instincts of a barbarian with the lofty liberty of a philosopher;—a very wild notion. He scoffed at supernaturalism, and yet his own life was a sort of supernaturalism. Yearning for something to suit his mind and his affections, he soared away through the empyrean in search of it. His poetry was the reflection of his fervid nature, loftily, subtilly ideal and always rejoicing to "play in the plighted clouds," far above the cares and purposes of common life. Still, a great number of his lyrics have a sufficient coloring of the earth to charm the general sense of his age and the ages yet to come. His soul was a noble and expansive wilderness, so to speak; and he walked in it like Saint John—a *vox clamantis in eremo*. The world will always blame him; and justly. But it will not willingly let die the legacy of his wonderful verse.

Wordsworth; a Biographical and Aesthetic Study. 12° pp. 231. By GEORGE H. CALVERT. Boston: Lee & Shepard; New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1878.

MR. CALVERT presents us with a life of the great "Lake poet," Wordsworth, which gives as good an idea of the man and his genius as may be gathered from the more extensive biographies. His comments and criticisms on the facts of the poet's life and the nature of his works are written with the eloquence of an enthusiastic admirer—one who had once the happiness of seeing and conversing with Wordsworth in his picturesque and memorable home—and are, in the main, sufficiently just to please all but the colder or least sympathizing of his readers, who might prefer to have the author of the *Excursion* brought somewhat more into comparison or contrast with the other distinguished poets of his own age or ours. But the book is very attractive, treating as it does of a very singular and original character who preferred his own ways and modes of thought to those of the majority of his fellow-men, and who had the singular courage to live his own life in the midst of them. Educated at Oxford and taking his degrees in that university, young Wordsworth in 1790, at the age of twenty, obeyed the bias of his nature, feeling, as Diogenes or Zeno might have felt at Athens at the same period of life, more addicted to literature and philosophic thought than to anything else. He had a reliance on some \$40,000, which the Earl of Lonsdale owed to his father—land-agent of his lordship—and felt that his share of that sum could furnish him with a roof over his head and keep the wolf from the door. And the young philosopher was also a "peripatetic" in his own way, finding his greatest enjoyment in rambling among the wilder or lonelier scenery of nature, whether in England, Wales, Scotland, France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland or Italy; sometimes alone, sometimes in company with Coleridge and, very often, with his sister Dorothy and his wife Mary—married when he was in his thirty-second year, and when Lord Lonsdale had paid his indebtedness to the Wordsworths. At the same time, a consumptive young man, named Raisley Calvert, who died young, left a sum of near five thousand dollars to his friend Wordsworth, who had cared for him in his sickness. But we cannot dwell on the details of the poet's life, simply observing that Wordsworth was certainly "a genuine *vates*" in many respects, being always true to nature—whether his own, or that of the material world about him, and manfully disdaining to imitate the conventional modes or cadences of the British Parnassus. But he had few passions, and none of them very strong, and was, therefore, incapable of standing in that rank of the bards which men in all ages have agreed to love best or hold in the highest honor. They love the play of the passions, and as a general rule are disposed to estimate life by the number of

sensations they can bring into it. Nevertheless a large class of readers will always sympathize with Wordsworth; and these will cordially welcome the little book, so genially composed by Mr. Calvert and so daintily printed and brought out by the Boston and New York publishers.

SCIENCE.

Scientific Memoirs, being Experimental Contributions to a Knowledge of Radiant Energy. 8° pp. 473. By JOHN W. DRAPER, M. D., LL.D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

THIS volume of *Scientific Memoirs* which the Messrs. Harper have recently given to the public, deserves, and we doubt not it will receive, a cordial welcome at home and abroad. The name of Draper is intimately associated with those to whom the world is indebted for the science of optics, the chemistry of light, a knowledge of the relation of light to the growth of organic bodies, etc. The *Memoirs* are a record of the labors and discoveries of their author. "Such a publication, therefore, assumes the character of an autobiography," as the author confesses at the outset. It contains nothing new to the student of science; but it is exceedingly interesting, not only for the facts and methods disclosed, but for the *experience* of a toiling man of science which is unfolded in them. "To a reader imbued with the true spirit of philosophy," writes the author, "even the shortcomings easily detectable in it are not without a charm" (p. 11). And it is true. "To explore the path to truth implies many wanderings, many inquiries, many mistakes" (*Ibid.*). These "wanderings," "inquiries," and "mistakes" are recorded in these *Memoirs* with the frankness and simplicity of one who, conscious of the elevation of his aim, has nothing to conceal and does nothing whereof to be ashamed, though he grope in darkness and suffer disaster and defeat again and again.

It would be pleasant to follow Prof. Draper in his studies and discoveries in light and heat. We should find him anticipating Prof. Grove in the discovery of the unity of the forces; forestalling Daguerre in photography; sharing with Fraunhofer the discovery of astronomical spectroscopy; leading physiologists in the physics of the circulation, the doctrines of vision, respiration, allotropism, etc., which are now very generally adopted by them. But we forbear to do so, as the reader will find them more agreeably detailed by the author himself in his *Memoirs*. To the student of science and philosophy these *Memoirs* will prove especially profitable for "doctrine and instruction;" but more

especially will they prove profitable as suggestion and guidance, since they declare the inevitable sequences of having an "eye single," and of pursuing patiently and perseveringly the path of truth without fear of consequences and regardless of the approbation of either friends or foes.

TRAVELS.

Through the Dark Continent. 2 vols., 8° pp. 1096. By HENRY M. STANLEY. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1878.

In this work, which records the most notable achievement in the annals of modern geographical discovery, Mr. Stanley has triumphantly worked out the idea of Dr. Livingstone who, having examined the flow of some rivers in the hill system westward of Lake Tanganika, supposed it might be the birthplace of the Congo rather than that of the Nile. It was a shrewd idea, and the result shows that it was a correct one.

With regard to the greater stream, the Nile, it is curious to note that Herodotus got some ideas respecting it from the learned professors of the temple of Minerva, or Saf, at Sais, who told him that it issued between two mountains, Mophi and Kroph, situated in the lofty range named after the Moon. Ptolemy afterwards published a similar story (second century of our era), followed by subsequent travellers and writers. In Sanson's curious Map of the World, published at Paris in 1688, the two lakes mentioned by Ptolemy are to be found, indicating the sources of the Great River. Men believed in those two fountain-lakes for ages; and Burton and Speke discovered them and brought them into the light. Burton having discovered Lake Tanganika in 1858, his companion, Speke, made an excursion to the north, led by the general report of the country, and saw the southern reaches of the lake Ukerewe, which has been re-named the Victoria Nyanza. This he confidently declared to be the source of the Nile—Burton dissenting. In 1860 and 1862 Speke and Grant mapped the whole of the Victoria lake; and then followed the discovery of the other lake lying to the northwest and named Muto Nzige—*Anglicè*—Albert Nyanza. In 1870 Schweinfürth, who had discovered the river Welle running westward, had an idea it might be an affluent of the Congo; and in 1874 Lieutenant Cameron, exploring the Lualaba and other streams to the west of Tanganika, was of opinion that they probably mingled their waters with the same great river in its upper and hidden courses. These announcements pointed out to Mr. Stanley the way he was to go; and he left London in 1874, to follow his journey of two years and eight months across the continent of Central Africa. In the November

of that year he started from Zanzibar with an escort of two hundred and seventy armed men. Arrived at Victoria Nyanza he made the *periplus* of that lake, fighting his way when necessary—as at Bumbireh and elsewhere—and discouraging all opposition with the spirit of Pizarro. Passing thence to the west, he touched Muto Nzize and then turned downward to Lake Tanganika, which he reached in May, 1876. His next movement was to the westward of that lake, where he met the Lualaba, a stream subsequently recognized as the head-water of the Congo, which till then had been as undetermined as the source of the Nile. It was by following this long-reaching Lualaba, in his boldest and most successful of journeys, that Mr. Stanley emerged into the light of his great discovery. His course along that river led him away north to the second degree of south latitude and so westward and downward, in a vast circuit, to the sixth degree, and the mouth of the river, at the Atlantic, which was reached in August, 1877.

We can only describe in outline a journey already familiarly known to the readers of cotemporary literature. The narrative is full of particulars, all very animated and picturesque. It reads like a wonderful story of perilous adventures, difficult ways, discouraging chances, armed conflict, and suffering borne with courage and fortitude. The impulsive nature of the young traveller colors the whole of it, and his style is of the same exuberant and energetic sort. His pages are crowded with incidents, personalities and episodes of various kinds, such as take the fancy of the general reader at once, and keep it to the end. As for the geographical student, he may often wish for a performance less hurried and more measured. He will miss some things—like those headings of chapters, which would easily indicate the exact whereabouts of the traveller, and also the headings of the pages, which might be such helps to those following the movement of the narrative. The present headings are, no doubt, very attractive—*too* attractive—and the colder class of readers would prefer such as would, so to speak, do the duty of mile-stones on a journey—a weak illustration, by the by, since modern progress laughs at the idea of those old-fashioned *way-wisers*.

These stately volumes are illustrated by ten maps and about one hundred and fifty wood-cuts—these last actually *illuminating* the pages and giving a more vivid effect to the narrative. The two large folded maps, representing the tracks of Mr. Stanley's journey, are very valuable and will be appreciated by all studious people, though not so much, perhaps, by the mass of readers who will wish for others (of the page-size) stationed at intervals, and giving instalments of the route in miniature sufficient for all purposes. Along with the foregoing will be found two portraits of the resolute explorer himself. He has further illustrated his work with a Comparative Table of African Languages, which will be welcome to

our philological students and the scientists of speech in general; also a full and satisfactory Index.

In fine, this is, perhaps, the most interesting book of travels published since the days of Abyssinian Bruce; and with the author's revision—he brought it out with a celerity that astonished the travellers, *littérateurs*, and critics of old England—will be in perfect order to delight the readers of the present and the future. The work is bound in green and gold, and its covers beautifully ornamented with characteristic and original designs.

RELIGION.

Theological Lectures. By the late WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM, D. D., Principal and Professor of Church History, New College, Edinburgh. 8° xiv, 625 pp. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1878.

PRINCIPAL Cunningham was one of Scotland's strong men, and this solid volume contains some of his strongest work. The lectures deal with "Subjects connected with Natural Theology, Evidences of Christianity, the Canon and Inspiration of Scripture." The treatment is dogmatic, yet reverential; at times eloquent, at times dull; but always in the most uncompromising spirit of the old school in theology. Dr. Cunningham was troubled by none of the perplexities which disturb the Christians of to-day. He even taught, in its strictest form, the belief in the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, and six lectures are given to a powerful argument on this point. His lectures on the Deistical controversy should be read in connection with Leslie Stephen's chapters on the same subject; the effect would certainly be invigorating. The *Lectures*, however were written thirty-five years ago; a fact which impairs their value as a weapon in the controversies of these later days. Still, the old arguments against—not only infidelity, but even doubt—are here presented, often in a fresh, always in a direct and powerful manner.

Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical. By the Rev. WILLIAM ARCHER BUTLER, M. A. Edited, with a Memoir of the Author's Life, by the Very Rev. Thomas Woodward, M. A. 2 vols. 12° pp. 882. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

READERS of sermons—and their name is Legion—have in these two volumes a rare treat; and those who are not sermon readers would be tempted to join "the glorious company," were they once to open these fascinating pages. Here are spirituality

and shrewdness, piety and eloquence, poetry and metaphysics. Even those who must dissent from the doctrines cannot fail to be charmed by the beauty of the thoughts and language. There is not a page here that is not strengthening and elevating. Indeed, this noble Irishman—Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin and author of the “Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy”—was, as everybody knows, one of the foremost of modern scholars; but all may not know that his was one of the strongest and sweetest natures of our times. Perhaps, therefore, the most delightful part of these volumes is the Memoir, which presents its subject to us not only as the preacher and theologian, but as boy and man; as a tender, faithful friend; and as a poet possessing the true divine fire.

The History of the English Bible. By the Rev. W. F. MOULTON, M. A., D. D. 12° viii, 232 pp.

THIS is by all means the very best history of our English Bible which has yet been published. It is not alone that the story is told in a fascinating manner, but the *matter* itself is peculiarly full and rich, since the author has embodied the results of the latest researches in this field. The history of the English Bible is almost the history of English liberty; the two, at least, are inextricably intertwined; and here it is set forth, vividly and succinctly from the earlier paraphrasts down to the revision now in progress, and upon which Dr. Moulton is himself engaged. The account is far more accurate than Stoughton's; more complete than any but Westcott's, and more entertaining than even that. Its value is largely increased by the introduction of fac-similes, and the publishers, as is usual with this firm, have spared no pains to make the volume worthy of its subject.

The Unity of the New Testament. By FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, M. A. First American Edition. 12° pp. ix, 538. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1879.

THE Maurice Memorial Union intended to publish a complete American edition of the works of the great English divine, but Macmillan & Co.'s copyrights, held for Mrs. Maurice, make it unadvisable at present, and this one volume is all that we can expect from this source. Should the Union accomplish nothing more, however, it has already placed the American public under a deep debt of gratitude. *The Unity of the New Testament* was especially dear to Mr. Maurice himself, who said he “would

rather all the other works would go out of print than it." An acquaintance with its pages will easily explain and justify this strong remark. In no other work, it seems to us, does he get so deep into the heart of the new revelation; and certainly he nowhere else unravels so deftly the somewhat tangled web of Scripture. Mr. Maurice's characteristics are well known and becoming every year more highly appreciated—broad catholicity, keenness of insight, powerful mental grasp, fearlessness of utterance and devoutness of spirit. These are all found here. The work is a synopsis of the first three Gospels and of the Epistles of James, Jude, Peter and Paul; and closes with three lectures, which form a profound, yet lucid, commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Every lover of the Scriptures—every *student* of the Scriptures, whether a lover or not—should possess this volume.

The Bible for Bible Teachers. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.

Of all the Bibles prepared for use and study, this is the best with which we are acquainted. The opinion held of it in England appears in the fact that it is endorsed as the best by the leading Bishops of the English Church, and in the still more striking fact that the two greatest religious societies—the London Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Religious Tract Society, have adopted it exclusively after thoroughly comparing it with all competing Bibles. But it is not necessary to adopt the judgment of others, however high the authority may be. A critical examination will show that this edition is a marvel of "judicious packing," and contains within its beautiful binding all the needed helps to Bible study and teaching. The best results of Biblical scholarship are here presented by the leading specialists in each department of Biblical learning; while it is especially noteworthy that in no instance have the doctrinal views of the writer been intruded upon the reader. There are chapters on "Materials for Bible lessons, on Geography, and on Times and Seasons; also an Index to the persons, places and subjects of the Bible, a Concordance of Bible Words, with 30,000 References, an Historical Epitome, a Dictionary of Proper Names, and six hand-colored Maps, based on the latest surveys." This splendid work is offered by Messrs. Pott & Young, Cooper Union, New York, in some thirty different styles and sizes, and the price of each is remarkably low. The binding in every case is rich and strong (silk-sewed); so that this Bible will last one a lifetime, notwithstanding the fact that its peculiar charms will lead one to almost constant study of it.

Pointed Papers for the Christian Life. By THEODORE L. CUYLER. New York: Robert Carter and Prothers. 1879.

THE author of that touching little book, the *Empty Crib*,—having reference to the loss of a beloved child—the *Cedar Christian*, and other works of the same religious character, here presents his readers with something in a similar style of instruction and consolation, containing about fifty brief sermons or homilies on themes of Christian life. They are written in a spirit of singular simplicity and sweetness and cannot fail to edify as well as to instruct. Then the Messrs. Carter have brought out the volume in a typography as beautiful as the contents are pure.

The King in His Beauty. 12° pp. 347. By Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, D. D. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1879.

The King in His Beauty is the continuation of a series of sermons to little children, concerning Jesus, His Kingdom, and His Work. Dr. Newton's style has the rare quality of being eminently adapted to children, being simple and entertaining. His sermons abound in interesting stories calculated to arrest the attention of the little ones. The book is prettily bound and illuminated, and would be a desirable acquisition in Sabbath School libraries.

John, Whom Jesus Loved. 12° pp. 244. By JAMES CULROSS, A. M., D. D. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1878.

DR. CULROSS discusses in the volume before us the Evangelist's life and writings in a manner which, though not new, is interesting; and if he offer no new suggestions concerning St. John's Gospel, the subject, though old, is always new. The volume contains two hundred and forty closely printed pages, written in a simple style and with the evident desire to further the cause of the Christian religion. The Sea of Galilee and the Isle of Patmos form subjects of two illustrations. The book cannot but be edifying to those religiously inclined.

BELLES-LETTRES.

Pearls for Young Ladies. From the later works of JOHN RUSKIN, L.L.D. Collected and arranged by LOUISA C. TUTHILL. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 1878.

Pearls for Young Ladies presents in brief space some of the most striking and original ideas of Mr. Ruskin. The selections seem to have been judiciously made by the editor, and they certainly have been elegantly presented. The volume is full of pearls which ought to prove of great price to ladies young or old. The book is especially instructive and must tend to make young ladies sympathize with the wider range of teaching offered in general to their brothers.

We have indeed nothing but praise for Mrs. Tuthill's literary carcanet, or string of pearls. The work opens very fittingly with a charming autobiography of Dr. Ruskin, which has only one fault, and that is its provoking brevity, but which may give as good an idea of the man and his manner as anything else he has written.

Besides the autobiography, we have here over one hundred and thirty extracts, or little articles, on a variety of subjects—Education, Women, Nature, Art, Narratives, Criticisms, Morals, Religion, Love, etc., all expressed in the clearest, simplest and most searching way. In one of these articles he speaks of "the waste of vital power in religious sentiment:"

"I will not speak of the crimes that, in past times, have been committed in the name of Christ, nor of the follies which are at this hour held to be consistent with obedience to him; but I will speak of the morbid corruption and waste of vital power in religious sentiment, by which the pure strength of that which should be the guiding soul of every nation, the splendor of its youthful manhood, and the spotless light of its maidenhood, is averted or cast away. You may continually see girls who have never been taught to do a single useful thing thoroughly; who cannot sew, who cannot cook, who cannot cast an account, nor prepare a medicine, whose whole life has been passed either in play or in pride; you will find girls like these, when they are earnest-hearted, cast all their innate passion of religious spirit, which was meant by God to support them through the irksomeness of daily toil, into grievous and vain meditation over the meaning of the Bible, of which no syllable was ever yet to be understood, except through a deed; all the instructive wisdom and mercy of their womanhood made vain, and the glory of their pure consciences warped into fruitless agony concerning questions which the laws of common servicable life would have either solved for them in an instant or kept out of their way."

Dr. Ruskin, after the manner of Socrates, who brought philosophy down from the clouds to the homes and common concerns of men, would bring religion out of Scripture to guide the aspiration and enthusiasm of men and women along the every day pathways of human life and experience. He has a cheerful and fearless way of discussing the gravest things and going against

the customary notions of society, regardless of those considerations which generally keep the feebleness of thinkers in awe. He thinks Sunday should be a gala-day and not the dreadful hebdomadal of the Scotch people and others who think it "respectable" to make it as dull and disagreeable as possible:

"The serious disadvantage of eating and fine dressing," he writes, "considered as religious ceremonies, whether at Christmas or on Sunday, in the Sunday dinner and the Sunday gown, is, that you don't clearly understand what the eating and the dressing signify. Why should Sunday be kept otherwise than Christmas and be less merry? Because it is a day of rest, commemorating the end of God's easy work, while Christmas is a day of toil, commemorating the beginning of his difficult work. Is that the reason? Or because Christmas commemorates His stooping to thirty years of sorrow, and Sunday to countless ages of joy? Which should be the gladdest day of the two, think you, on either ground? When I was a child I lost the pleasure of some three-sevenths of my life because of Sunday; for I always had a way of looking forward to things, and a lurid shade was cast over the whole of Friday and Saturday by the horrible sense that Sunday was coming and inevitable. Not that I was rebellious against my good mother and aunts, in any wise, feeling only that we were altogether crushed under a sort of relentless fate."

Ruskin is no enemy of "sensation" in anything. He says:

"I am not afraid of the word; still less of the thing. You have heard many outcries lately about "sensation." But I can tell you it is not less sensation we want, but more. The ennobling difference between one man and another, between an animal and another, is precisely in this that one feels more than another. If we were sponges, perhaps sensation might not be easily got for us. If we were earth-worms liable at every instant to be cut in two by the spade, perhaps too much sensation might not be good for us. But being human creatures, *it is* good for us; nay we are only human in so far as we are sensitive, and our honor is precisely in proportion to our passion."

Some of our preachers may probably read that extract with a pardonable satisfaction. We had marked for quotation a number of other articles—among them a most winning little Swiss idyl of love and marriage, narrated in Ruskin's idiomatic and nearly inimitable manner,—but have no room for them; and must end, as we began, with our thanks to Mrs. Tuthill for the most agreeable and readable little book we have had for a good while.

Oratory and Orators. 12° pp. 456. By WILLIAM MATHEWS, LL.D. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1879.

DR. MATHEWS begins his eloquently written book by justifying his attempt to make people clever and effective speakers, as if there were any need of such a preamble. It is one of the finest and perhaps one of the noblest things in the world to employ the faculty of language with force and efficacy—whether in the silent mode of poetry or in the more direct and vivid manner of oratory, which carries a still stronger spell along with it. Dr.

Mathews' book has an excellent *raison d'être*, while it proves that he himself is qualified to sympathize with what he so happily illustrates. Indeed he shows that in any gusty crisis of society, with the stormy passions on the wing, like wild birds in the air, he could be an orator himself—a Mirabeau or a Henry to

“ Shake the arsenal and fulmine over Greece
To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne.”

An orator is the best fitted to speak of oratory;—Cicero is a case in point. The language of our author has certainly the color of his theme, which is essentially of a soaring and sonorous character, made forcible and luminous by the aid of metaphors, similes and figures, and capable of strongly stirring the feelings. Oratory has one grand advantage over its more beautiful and less robust sister, poetry, in being better and more readily understood by the generality of men. Rufus Choate was in the habit of saying that no train of oratorical thought is too deep or too good for a popular audience. This theme Dr. Mathews, with his historic lights and illustrations, biographical facts, notes and anecdotes, has made very attractive. At the same time he distinguishes true oratory from what is mere copiousness of speech, and shows that no one can be an effective orator who has not a full mind made athletic by exercise, a clear brain and a larynx of large compass—these last the gifts of nature itself. Without the last-mentioned organ—without the happy consent of tongue and teeth—nobody can excel in the art. And this was also the opinion of Demosthenes who, as everybody knows, had a habit of putting pebbles into his mouth while he practised his utterances beside the *rochthos* of Egina or the steep of Sunium.

Altogether, Dr. Mathews' book is a seasonable one; and Messrs. Griggs & Co. have sent it forth in clear type and excellent paper and binding.

England from a Back-Window; with Views of Scotland and Ireland. 12° pp. 475. By J. M. BAILEY. (The *Danbury News Man*.) Boston: Lee & Shepard; New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1879.

THE travels of Mr. J. M. Bailey—better known, perhaps, by his pseudonym of the “*Danbury News Man*,” which has made him so popular in the States—will give as good an idea of matters and things in the United Kingdom as any other of those graver books published from time to time on that theme. His *forte*, as everybody is aware, is somewhat in the *buffo* style of narrative, which has been recognized as particularly American by all those who remember the writings of Sam Slick, Artemus Ward, Mark Twain and many other humorists. There is, in fact, an old ten-

dency or propensity in human nature, traceable from the "saturnalian" periods of our race, to indulge in a spirit of mockery; and the English-speaking peoples have inherited it in a remarkable degree. The liking for Dickens, Mark Twain and the "Danbury News Man" is unanswerable, in the same way. Mr. Bailey's experience and description of men and things in the British Isles are not the less true that they are set down in a gay and laughing style; *ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?* They give a very good idea of that old ground and its people; and, for the rest, there is not a dull page in the whole book—no slight commendation of any work in these book-publishing days. Indeed, there are so many passages in it worth quoting for their point and facetious humor, that we do not know which to choose; and in such a delicate case, "the *man* who deliberates is lost,"—and so is the enjoyment of our readers.

The Bible of To-day. A Course of Lectures. 12° pp. 304.
By JOHN W. CHADWICK. New York: G. P. Putnam's
Sons. 1878.

THIS handsomely printed and bound volume, *The Bible of To-day*, is dedicated to "My People," which secures it in a measure from harsh treatment at the hands of a carping critic who happens not to be included in that favored category. The book consists of a series of eight lectures, written in a vivacious and entertaining style, and delivered from the author's pulpit during the Winter of 1877-8, to "some of his people and some others," if we may be permitted to use the author's strange phraseology. While the author lays no claim to originality, his volume bears the impress of industry and a conscientious attention to the researches of such biblical scholars as Kuenen, Ewald, Noyes, Bauer, Zeller, Davidson and others. It is needless to say that his conclusions respecting the authorship and antiquity of the sacred writings are in harmony with those of the scholars to whose studies he gracefully acknowledges his indebtedness.

We do not intend this observation to imply any disparagement of the author's labors. His volume possesses the merit—by no means a common one—of being an intelligent and trustworthy *résumé* of the critical conclusions of those whose opportunities of forming a critical judgment, on a subject so enshrouded in mysticism, deceit, ignorance and superstition as that of the origin and history of the Holy Scriptures, were and are superior to his own. Many will read his book with lively satisfaction; others with serious misgivings, if not positive resentment. Had he refrained from the appearance of flippancy in dealing with certain tenets held sacred by the vast majority of Christians, his book would have received a wider and a kindlier welcome.

Were we to indulge in detracting criticism of this interesting volume, however, we should begin with the dedication and end, for the most part, with the preface. The former should have been withheld; the latter is "one not fit to have been made." Instead of expressing an opinion in regard to the effect which the "results of his (my) investigations" will have on people "who may happen to stumble upon them in the dark," or otherwise, and gratuitously assuring the reader of his willingness to have his work superseded, the effect would have been better had he modestly confined his remarks to a brief citation of his authorities, and quietly left his work to the judgment of the candid reader.

The Ceramic Art. By JENNIE J. YOUNG. Harper and Brothers.

This firm never allow themselves to be surpassed in catering to—and indeed creating—the most elevated public taste. Within less than one year, we believe, they have issued no fewer than four important works on the ceramic art, the cost of preparing which must have been enormous. The present volume is "beautiful exceedingly;" one is long kept from opening it, by the dainty covers with their quaint Japanesque designs and rich tints; but once inside, the reader is tempted to feast like a gourmand. The text is very full and especially trustworthy; giving a most entertaining history of ceramics from the earliest day to the present. The engravings are all good, but some of them are particularly noteworthy examples of the engraver's art. This book deserves, and is surely destined, to be a great favorite with the enthusiastic and ever-increasing devotees of pottery.

Hymns of the Nativity. 16° pp. 160. By HORATIUS BONAR, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1878.

THIS attractive little volume—with its pages illuminated with "vine, vine and eglantine,"—contains the author's poetical contributions to various periodicals during the past six years, and also several poems never before published. Dr. Bonar is perhaps the most widely known and loved of all living hymnists, and while most of his effusions will not bear severe criticism, if viewed simply as *poetry*, they certainly combine to an eminent degree the characteristics required for a successful hymn. These latest verses both rise higher and fall lower than any of his famous "Hymns of Faith and Hope." On the whole, they will be deservedly dear to Christian hearts, to which they will bring comfort and courage.

Meg: A Pastoral, and other Poems. 12° pp. 280. By ZADEL BARNES GUSTAFSON. Boston: Lee and Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1879.

WERE this merely a collection of the poems—however charming—which Mrs. Gustafson has contributed to *Harper's Magazine* and other periodicals, it would call for only a passing word; but here are three new poems, in which the poet essays a more ambitious flight, and which therefore tempt us to a more critical examination of her powers. *Meg*, the title poem, is a pastoral, and must be judged with the limitations of the pastoral borne in mind. It is a success; since it has grace, picturesqueness, vividness, simplicity and a rich melody. The characters are drawn with a delicate, yet firm hand; the cross-play of passions is woven with masterly skill; while the true, womanly heart appears in the sympathy and perfect success with which are delineated the purity and loveliness of maidenhood, the depth and exaltation of the holiest emotions of awakening passion. There is no maudlin sentimentality in these verses: a fine, fresh, healthy spirit breathes in every line. The tribute to "William Cullen Bryant" is a well-sustained poem, having many strong lines, and revealing greater power and a richer promise in the author than we had before suspected. The poem, indeed, is so very good that we wish she had made it better by substituting her own thoughts and words for the many quotations from Bryant which she has introduced. Hard as it is to differ, on such a point, from a poet, and that poet a woman, we can but feel that these quotations are in poor taste. *Not Peace, but a Sword* is in a different key from the other poems, but will perhaps better repay careful study than either of them. It displays, too, at its highest the exquisite melodiousness of Mrs. Gustafson's verse.

A Face Illumined. 12° pp. 658. By Rev. E. P. ROE. New York: Dodd and Mead. 1879.

THE sudden and great popularity which came to Mr. Roe a few years since gave us the natural fear that he would thereafter be content to trade upon his reputation,—a too common vice with both American and English writers,—instead of striving earnestly to attain a still higher ideal. We have been happily disappointed. *A Face Illumined* is the best, as well as latest, of Mr. Roe's works. It displays all his marked peculiarities, while it contains less of dross than any of his previous novels. The author's talent as a story-teller is increasing; his artistic sense is becoming finer. This novel has none of the unnaturalness of *Barriers Burned Away*, while it avoids the too sketchy treatment which marred *A Knight of the Nineteenth Century*. The story

deals with the problem so fascinating to all lovers of the good, the true and the beautiful,—how a character pure in itself, but overlaid with frivolity and aimlessness, may be elevated into nobility by the training of the æsthetic and the moral sense. *Love*, of course, is the magic word by which the “Sleeping Beauty” is wakened to a rich and full life; and the gradual development of her nature is depicted with a skill which increases the reader’s interest and enjoyment to the end. We feel grateful to Mr. Roe for giving us one more proof that Art can go hand in hand with high moral purpose without losing any of her beauty and fascination.

The Bibliography of Ruskin. A Bibliographical List, arranged in Chronological Order, of the published Works of John Ruskin, from 1834 to the present time, October, 1878. 12°. By RICHARD HERNE SHEPHERD. New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1879.

THE preparation of this little volume has evidently been a labor of love. Not only Mr. Ruskin’s books, but his short articles and poems scattered through the periodicals and annuals during nearly a half-century of busy toil, are here all catalogued, with every facility added for finding the writings themselves, and with descriptive notes which largely increase the value of the work. Even such minute details as the number of pages occupied by each article, and its signature and date are given; while a prefatory letter from Mr. Ruskin and an appendix containing a list of his works published in America by John Wiley and Sons, complete a volume of rare interest and great value to the student of England’s foremost writer on art.

MISCELLANEA.

Railroads, their Origin and Problems. 12° pp. 216. By CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Jun. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons. 1878.

THE author of this little book offers a long discourse on the railway systems, and mainly on the principles governing those of England, Germany and the United States. In Germany and France these have a tendency to fall under the control of the government. Mr. Adams is of the opinion that the English and the Americans are too much attached to their traditional notions of independence to accept such control. Still he is inclined to think that a good many abuses grow out of this independence and that its unhealthy competitions should be diminished or done away with. He is in favor of centralizing the railway systems, and thinks these could be advantageously controlled by a State

superintendence, such as exists to a great extent in Germany, France and Belgium. The railways of the two last-mentioned countries will probably be soon in a condition of complete subserviency. Mr. Adams thinks that the principle will be generally carried out in the long run; so that everywhere an honest government, the exponent of the general will, may be able to constitute itself a national conscience, as it were, and an umpire between those trade competitions or collusions that so sorely disturb the harmonious order of society. It is a very interesting question, alike for the statesman and the people.

RECEIVED.

Change: the Whisper of the Sphinx. A Poem. By WILLIAM LEIGHTON, Jr., author of *The Sons of Godwin*, *At the Court of King Edwin*, etc. 12°. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.

Live Boys: or Charlie and Nasho in Texas. Illustrated. 12° pp. 308. By ARTHUR MORECAMP. Boston: Lee & Shepard; New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1879.

Die Cullenländer des Alten America. Zwei bände. 8°. Von A. BASTIAN. Berlin: Weidmanusche Buchhandlung; New York: B. Westermann & Co. 1878.

An Essay on Free Trade. 12° pp. 63. Paper. By RICHARD HAWLEY. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878.

Conversion of the West: The Northmen, The English, The Celts. One vol. each. Small 12° with Maps. By REV. G. F. MACLEAR, D. D.; and *The Continental Teutons.* One vol. Uniform with the above, with Map. By the VERY REV. CHARLES MERIVALE, D. D., London. New York: Pott, Young & Co. 1878.

A History of American Literature. Vols. 1 and 2. 8° pp. 292-330. By MOSES COIT TYLER. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878.

Mother Play and Nursery Songs. Illustrated by Fifty Engravings, with notes to Mothers. 4° pp. 192. Translated from the German of Friederich Froebel. Boston: Messrs. Lee & Shepard; New York: Chas. T. Dillingham. 1879.

French Pictures, Drawn with Pen and Pencil. 4° pp. 212. By REV. SAMUEL G. GREEN, D. D. With illustrations by English and foreign artists. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons. 1879.

Sonia. Translated from the French of HENRY GREVILLE. By MARY NEAL SHERWOOD. Square 12° paper, pp. 272. Phila.: T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

Madeleine. By JULES SANDEAU. Square 12° paper, pp. 220. Phila.: T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

Hélène: A Love Episode. By ÉMILE ZOLA. Translated by MARY NEAL SHERWOOD. Square 12° paper, pp. 334. Phila.: T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

A Quiet Life. By MRS. F. H. BURNETT. Square 12° paper, pp. 230. Phila.: T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

Prospectus of the 9th Volume, 1878-9.

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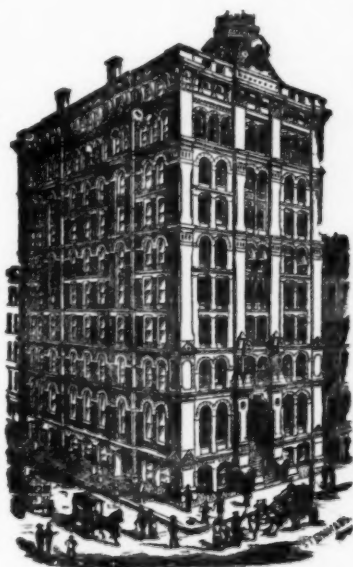
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
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